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REGAN ADDRESS PRAISES 'MILITARIST' POLICY

AU061340 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Tirana, Feburary 6 (ATA) -- The American President Reagan delivered his State of the Union message to the Senate and the House of Representatives in the Congress. He praised his militarist and aggressive policy, and openly declared that the U. S. A. will intensify the arms race on earth and space with the other superpower, the Soviet Union. He implied that he will continue the course of the establishment of American hegemony in the world through the intervention and the use of force in different countries and regions. Reagan called for increases in military spending to finance the U. S. "rearmament" policy and in particular the implementation of "star wars" programmes. Insisting on the realisation of the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative the American President declared that the USA press ahead with the missions of space ships, in the context of "shuttle" programme.

The American President made open threats for the overthrow of the legitimate Nicaraguan Government, stating that he will ask "the use of all means" to this end and that the U.S.A. "will provide moral and material aid" to the Somoza gangs. He also reiterated the aims of high administration to strengthen the counter-revolutionary American-Soviet collaboration declaring that his Geneva meeting with Gorbachev last November and the latter's prospective visit to the U.S.A. "will bring more stable relations" between the two superpowers.

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS, COURTS VOTE SET FOR 27 APR

AU311923 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 86

["Decree on the Date of Elections for People's Councils and People's Courts"]

[Text] Taking into consideration that the mandate of the people's councils and people's courts lapses on 24 April 1986, in accordance with Article 77 of the Constitution and with Laws No 25 and 45 of Decree No 4243 enacted on 13 March 1967 on the election of people's councils and people's courts, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decided:

The election of people's councils and people's courts at all levels is to take place on Sunday, 27 April 1986.

This Decree comes into effect on 12 February 1986.

Tirana, 6 [as heard] January 1986.

Decree No 7017.

On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Ramiz Aliz, chairman; Sihat Tozaj, decretary.

DECLARATION CONDEMNS ISRAELI 'KIDNAPPING'

AU070856 Sofia BTA in English 0807 GMT 7 Feb 86

["Declaration" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA) -- The Bulgarian public has learned with great concern and indignation about the latest provocative act carried out by the Israeli military -- the kidnapping of a Libyan civil aircraft in international airspace and its landing at an Israeli airbase. The Israeli Government's aggressive act is nothing but a continuation of its decades-long policy of terror and expansion of the Middle East. Disregarding all norms of international law, the U.N. Charter and a number of international conventions that cater for the independence of the civil air traffic, the government of Israel has again manifested before mankind its aggressive nature and its turning terrorism into a state policy.

This irresponsible aggressive act committed by the Israeli authorities further exacerbates tensions in the region and can result in the emergence of new hotbeds of tension that could threaten the world's security. There is no doubt that Israel could never have dared commit such an aggressive act had it not been for the support coming from its "strategic ally" the U.S., whose Navy is continuing to create tensions near the coastline of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Bulgarian public is condemning Tel Aviv's aggressive act which is endangering peace in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Bulgaria is demanding the halting of all Israeli aggressive acts against the Arab states.

FILIPOV VIEWS SNOWSTORM DAMAGE IN STARA ZAGORA

AU061937 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] On 6 February Comrade Grisha Filipov visited Stara Zagora Okrug. Accompanied by Mincho Yovchev, first secretary of the BCP Stara Zagora Okrug committee, and leaders and specialists of the Ministry of Power Supply, departments, and economic organizations, he was briefed on the complex situation created by the snowfalls of the last days and damage inflicted by the snowstorm in the Okrug's settlements.

Comrade Grisha Filipov was also briefed on the measures adopted by the okrug commission on the struggle against the natural disasters and major production accidents, on the quick restoration of the electric power supply, and ensuring the normal work of the labor collectives. Comrade Grisha Filipov positively evaluated the work done so far to restore the interrupted work rhythms, and stressed the necessity of mobilizing the forces of all working people to overcome the difficulties created by the snowstorm and ensure normal electric power supply.

ALBANIA'S ALIA THANKS ZHIVKOV FOR CONGRATULATIONS

AU031245 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has received a telegram from Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The telegram expresses gratitude for the congratulations conveyed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of Albania as a People's Republic and expresses best wishes for the Bulgarian people's prosperity.

U.S. SPACE ARMAMENTS CONTINUE DESPITE TRAGEDY

AU061207 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Feb 86 p 7

[Milan Rusko commentary in the "Word on Events" column: "The Priority: Danger" -- uppercase passages published in widespaced type]

[Text] The tragedy of the seven members of the crew of the American space shuttle Challenger will perhaps encourage the U.S. Government to conduct constructive negotiations with the USSR on a space arms ban -- this was stressed a few days ago by the World Peace Council in its declaration. This was no coincidence, since many politicians, statesmen, and scientists, including Americans, have expressed this wish. Its realization would be the most dignified form of REALLY honoring the memory of the dead astronauts.

Regrettably, the suspicion is proving justified that the White House is not even dreaming of anything of that sort, that it is not willing to accede to anything of that sort. Even in his first statements President Ronald Reagan made it clear that the military-industrial complex need have no fear of losing its astronomical profits from space arms production, and that the Pentagon need have no fear about its plans for preparing a space war; the program will continue.

To silence as soon as possible all those voicing the danger of ANY AND ALL technical breakdowns in space arms, both the bourgeois press and the official U.S. authorities concentrated attention on one of the rocket boosters. It was only on the basis of photographs of a most problematic quality that NASA came to the conclusion that, in fact, a most banal thing was to blame -- a faulty weld. The catastrophe was caused by the Norton Thiokol firm, which had supplied the faulty rocket. And since one now knows about this, the flights can go on...

This is the first time that the program of U.S. space flights is being militarized on an even broader scale. In this connection one must recall the voices of American experts, pointing out that the sensors which report breakdowns had been removed from the rocket boosters to raise the maximum payload of the shuttle for military purposes. It is not out of the question that, had the crew received a signal, the shuttle could have separated from the rocket and been able to land.

One should also not disregard the voices about the so-called green box which have appeared in the American press; both submarines and frogmen have been intensively searching for it since the moment of the tragedy. A warning has been issued that any chance finder must not touch it, because this could be fatal. Well then, what did the Challenger actually carry into orbit? It could hardly be just the teaching aids for the 2-hour lecture for American school pupils that was planned. It is far more probable that it carried dangerous substances whose reaction under the conditions of weightlessness the Pentagon wanted to test.

Now top Washington authorities want to impress on the U.S. and on the international public that all this was a banality which cannot repeat itself: the President has even appointed a commission which is to report to him on the causes of the tragedy. However, it seems that everything, certain acts of piety included, is meant to camouflage the fact that the U.S. militarist circles are ignoring the victims of the tragedy and the sorrow which the tragedy has evoked. And this is not all. They are openly indicating that they are not taking the warning -- the breakdown of technology which serves the preparation of space militarization -- into account.

They are counting on this tragedy being already forgotten in June, when the next shuttle is to be launched, under the impression of a new successful flight. But in reality the crux of the matter is not merely one, or even several, flights -- it lies in the fact that even the most perfect technology can break down and cause a catastrophe.

The U.S. imperialist circles are intoxicated by notions of contaminating the orbit [word as published] with space arms. However, the American daily PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER has stated that even if these arms are directed by computers which process hundreds of millions of data in a fraction of a second, there will still be no time for human intervention if a breakdown occurs.

And the daily BOSTON GLOBE was quite right in writing that if a shuttle could crash, then the thing which Reagan euhemistically calls the space antimissile defense can also break down -- and this threatens mankind with extinction!

Washington is not commenting on these facts, it plays deaf to the demands of the progressive part of the American and the world public for averting armament in space in the manner the Soviet Union is proposing. That is why the sorrow demonstrated by top American authorities over the loss of the astronauts sounds most unconvincing. For at the same time they are clearly revealing their decision to risk the very existence of human civilization for the sake of their hegemonist ambitions of world rule.

FOREIGN MINISTRY CONDEMNS ISRAELI 'HIJACKING'

LD061642 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on the hijacking of a Libyan passenger aircraft by Israel.

It states that during recent weeks there has been a considerable growth of tension in the Mediterranean as a result of increasingly provocative actions by the United States and its strategic ally Israel in this very sensitive area of the world.

The progressive public of the world is seriously concerned about this sharp, very dangerous in its consequences, and long term campaign of pressure by the United States and Israel against Libya. This campaign includes, apart from political and economic blackmail, provocative naval maneuvers on the borders of independent Libya. The arrogant hijacking of the Libyan passenger aircraft, with important Syrian officials on board, is another stone in the mosaic of ill-will and force which is characteristic of Israeli policy toward the Arab countries of the area.

This act if air piracy, the statement goes on, is a clear violation of the norms of international law and an act of state terrorism. Together with the Hijacking of the Egyptian civil aircraft by U.S. fighter planes, it represents a dangerous precedent which seriously threatens the freedom and security of international air transport.

The aim of the aggressive and provocative acts by the United States and Israel which we are witnessing in the Mediterranean area and the Middle East is to scare and provoke Arab states, in particular Libya and Syria, whose principled and independent policy is a thorn in the flesh of Washington and Tel Aviv. The consequences of these aggressive acts mar efforts for a hopefully just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis, and seriously threaten international stability.

At the close the statement, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs states that Czechoslovakia strongly demands the immediate end to provocations by the United States and Israel in the Mediterranean, which are a dangerous playing with fire. It sharply condemns Israel for its act of force against the Libyan passenger plane, and firmly demands that it should cease similar terrorist acts.

FRG FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER GENSCHER VISITS

Preview of Visit

LD041212 Prague In Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 3 Feb 86

[Frantisek Vonderka commentary]

[Text] Frantisek Vonderka is the author of the following commentary on the coming talks of the Czechoslovak and FRG foreign ministers, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Karlovy Vary:

One thing is certain. An important meeting will take place in Karlovy Vary which will be important not only for the bilateral relations of the two immediately involved countries. The two states are members of antagonistic military-political groups and their mutual relations, and their development and atmosphere are reflected in the overall relations between East and West.

Czechoslovak foreign policy proceeds from the assumption that our relations with the FRG should improve the international atmosphere and that all possibilities are to be utilized for reaching this aim. From this viewpoint the fact that the talks between the foreign ministers have become the rule is highly positive. This type of dialogue in which views are exchanged on bilateral relations and on crucial international problems is important today. It is a fact that in the last few years relations bewteen East and West have considerably sharpened, and this unfortunately has had a negative impact also on the relations between Czechoslovakia and the FRG.

The situation in the world after the USSR-U.S. summit talks in Geneva is not quite satisfactory. Although the meeting resulted in the renewal of the USSR-U.S. dialogue and in some positive stimuli, the White House is unable to implement them in the practical political sphere. Instead Washington is continuing in the dangerous destructive course of feverish armament, which is a matter of concern also to some of its faithful allies in NATO. It was Federal Foreign Minister Genscher who spoke against leaving the positive impulses from Geneva unutilized. Bonn has also said that confidence in relations between East and West is to be renewed.

On the other hand it should not be forgotten that it was the Bonn Government which agreed to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles. This decision can hardly be understood as a step toward the renewal of confidence between East and West. Similarly, this goal has hardly been served by the voices from the Bonn government coalition which demand that the FRG join the U.S. program of space militarization.

Czechoslovakia carries out a coordinated foreign policy together with the USSR and the other states of the Warsaw Pact. The federal foreign minister will then have another opportunity to hear how similar dangerous trends in Bonn policy -- and this is one of the aims of the dialogue, too -- are seen by the other side.

TEXT The main tasks, of today, and Czechoslovak foreign policy proceeds from this, are to avert the danger of nuclear war, halt armaments and start the disarmament process. Czechoslovak foreign policy is based on the fact that, in the interest of everybody, the East-West dialogue must follow this line, and this is not only the superpowers' affair. Therefore the Governments of the CSSR and the GDR proposed to the government in Bonn the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons which would include the territories of all three states. Bonn has still not given a reply that would respect the demands of our times.

To improve the international atmosphere means today above all to carry out practical steps toward reinforcement of security and mutual confidence. This means to begin with, disarmament, because only in an atmosphere of bilateral security and confidence can relations in other areas be promoted properly, whether in the sphere of economic cooperation, environmental protection, advancement of cultural relations or settling humanitarian issues.

Arrival Report

LD042134 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs, began a working visit to Czechoslovakia today in Karlovy Vary. He was welcomed by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, at whose invitation the visit is taking place, and other officials.

During their meetings, the two ministers will assess the level of bilateral relations and exchange views on topical problems of the international situation.

Chnoupek, Genscher Talks

LD051415 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] The working meeting between Bohuslav Chnoupek, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, began in Karlovy Vary today.

The two ministers agreed that the continuation of political dialogue contributes to the development of relations between the two neighboring countries on the basis of the well-tested policy of peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, to constructive cooperation in all spheres of common interest in the spirit of the 1973 treaty on mutual relations, and the 1978 joint declaration.

It was stressed that regular meetings between ministers of foreign affairs provide an opportunity for joint examination of the state of mutual relations, to look for new possibilities for improving them, and thus contribute to the strengthening of the policy of detente in accordance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek confirmed the political will of the Czechoslovak Government to make maximum effort in this direction. At the same time, however, he stressed that the security aspect has always been and is a dominant factor in the CSSR's attitude toward the FRG. That is why Czechoslovakia cannot remain silent about the activities of certain forces in the FRG which question the post-war arrangement in Europe.

He stressed the fact that the continuing deployment of new U.S. first strike nuclear missile on the territory of some NATO states, including the FRG, with the aim of gaining military superiority, does not help to achieve a good atmosphere on our continent. He said these questions, just like the attitude the United States' plans for the militarization of space, have key importance for Czechoslovakia and for its allies in determining its relations with other states. It was stressed that the CSSR's policy with regard to the FRG is dictated by its interest in correct relations based on the principles of equality and equal security. The system of political relations has irreplaceable importance in this respect.

It was noted with satisfaction that economic cooperation still retains a stabilizing influence in relations between the two countries. The volume of mutual goods exchanged reached almost DM5 billion in 1985, which represents a two-fold increase compared with the period 1975-80.

At the same time the CSSR and the FRG ministers of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, during their working meeting in Karlovy Vary, pointed out further possibilities hinted at by examples of production cooperation so far. The results of cooperation in the protection of the environment were appreciated and the prospects for further cooperation were outlined. The two ministers also discussed questions connected with the safe operation of nuclear power station [as heard] under construction near the border. They also examined possibilities for the further development of cultural, educational, scientific, health, tourist, and sports relations and contacts between representative bodies, social organizations, cities, villages, districts, and regions.

Luncheon Speeches

LD051625 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, gave a luncheon in honor of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and FRG minister of foreign affairs in Karlovy Vary today.

In his speech at the luncheon, Bohuslav Chnoupek said he appreciates the regular meetings of the two ministers, which offer an opportunity to jointly examine the state of mutual relations, to look for new possibilities for their furtherance, and at the same time to exchange views on urgent questions of the international situation. Bohuslav Chnoupek said that in this he sees clear proof of mutual interest in the further development of relations, and views this fact as an expression of the political will of both sides to contribute by constructive discussion to the strengthening of the policy of detente and coexistence as the foundation of relations between states with different social systems. He also said that we can be satisfied on the whole with the state of our bilateral relations. We have been able to strengthen political contacts, the volume of economic relations is growing, and we also made progress in the exchange of views on possibilities of a joint approach in overcoming ecological problems. At the same time, we must not forget the disturbing moments, connected with demands for the revision of the postwar reality in Europe reconfirmed in Helsinki, do not at all contribute to the development of relations. On the contrary, they flourish best of all in conditions of peace, international security, and without a fear of nuclear war, in a world which will not, even from space, be threatened by any so-called Strategic Defense Initiative or its possible European offspring. And it is to such a safe planet that the new historically important Soviet program of the three-stage process of liquidation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction until the end of the century aims. Of course, this presupposes that participants will, as early as the first stage, refrain from the development, testing and deployment of offensive space weapons.

TEXT Minister Chnoupek stressed that the new Soviet program is welcome and fully supported. As a further graphic example of a policy of good examples and bold steps he singled out the extension of the unilateral moratorium of the Soviet Union on nuclear blasts for a further 3 months. He said that this is, no doubt, the best proof of goodwill -- to fulfil the moral pledge of the Geneva summit of Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

In conclusion, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs expressed confidence that the talks with the FRG foreign minister in Karlovy Vary would contribute to the further broadening of good-neighborly relations between our countries and to the strengthening of the policy of detente in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

In his speech at the luncheon, Hans-Dietrich Genchser gave thanks for the friendly welcome and the traditional hospitality. He said he appreciated the fact that the meeting took place in Karlovy Vary, the world famous spa at which a number of prominent political and cultural figures have either visited or received treatment.

In another part of his speech he spoke in favor of the creation of a peaceful order in Europe and the world. He said that peace has to be built not on principles of intimidation but on principles of trust, regardless of different ideologies and social systems. If all states in the East and West and in central Europe will join forces, it is impossible not to achieve progress on this path. After the Geneva summit, international development is favorable for progress in the sphere of disarmament and arms control. We strive as much as possible, the FRG minister of foreign affairs said, for proposals of both sides to be discussed in a businesslike manner without any propagandistic undertones, at the Geneva talks between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and agreements acceptable for both sides worked out. Let us utilize improved relations between the East and West and the dialogue between our states for the advancement of bilateral relations in all spheres. As an example, there are specific agreements on scientific and technological cooperation, on environmental protection, and on the utilization of inland waterways. Only the building of trust between the nations will finally remove forever the shadows from the past Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG minister of foreign affairs, said at the end of the luncheon in Karlovy Vary.

Talks Continue

LD052213 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Talks continued today in Karlovy Vary between the ministers of foreign affairs of the CSSR and the FRG, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, respectively.

In a factual and open manner they exchanged views on key pressing international problems. Even though both countries diverge in their evaluation of the causes of the present complicated and often conflicting international situation, both ministers jointly pointed out the need to adopt concrete and mutually acceptable measures to avert the threat of nuclear war and to strengthen peace, security, and cooperation on the European Continent.

They described the results of the Geneva meeting of leading representatives of the USSR and the United States as positive and they agreed, that in the interest of implementing their concrete conclusions, in practice it is necessary to to allow disagreements to accumulate but to look for a common denominator for acting together and for cooperation among all states with different social systems.

LAST LINE

Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized the constructive proposals made by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev on 15 January which comprise a complex program for ending the arms race and achieving concrete measures on the path to a balanced and controllable reduction of nuclear and conventional arms.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher described these proposals as an important step forward in solving the most complicated problems of the world. Both ministers also exchanged views on the possibilities of an agreement for liquidating medium-range missiles in central Europe. They favored further talks on entering into a convention on banning chemical weapons. They also supported the idea of cooperation between the CEMA and the EEC and they emphasized its importance for the overall strengthening of the process of detente in Europe and the world.

After the talks with Bohuslav Chnoupek ended, Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with journalists. He praised not only the useful nature of the talks but also the development, until now, of bilateral relations, which will also be aided by the agreement being prepared between both states on cooperation in protecting the environment. He also favored further progress in fulfilling the Helsinki Final Act, to which all talks which are taking place -- whether in Vienna, Geneva, or Stockholm -- must contribute.

Genscher Comments on Talks

LD052228 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Talks took place today in Karlovy Vary between CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek and FRG Vice Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The latter at a short meeting with journalists praised the level of bilateral relations. He emphasized that a considerable part of the talks was concerned with problems of protecting the environment where the conditions have been created for joint progress by both countries. Contacts in the area of scientific and technical cooperation will also be raised to the level of agreements and further exchanges of cultural matters will increase. Minister Genscher also expressed the hope that the Vienna talks and the Stockholm conference will lead to positive results, particularly because the newest proposal from the USSR brings new impulses, and this is why they deserve a serious reaction from the West -- and we will attempt such a reaction, emphasized Genscher.

Despite the short duration of time set out for the meeting, we succeeded in asking the FRG foreign minister about what attitude the FRG has to the USSR proposal to withdraw and liquidate all USSR and U.S. medium-range missiles which are sited in Europe. Minister Genscher replied that the FRG supports the idea that medium-range missiles should not need to exist on either side. And in the proposal of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev we now see the possibility of arriving at such a stand and how to achieve certain inter-agreements in the talks between the United States and the USSR which would open the way for further constructive talks, and we want to contrubute to this with goodwill, said Hans-Dietrich Genscher at the end.

Departure; Seen Off by Chnoupek

LD061118 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG, ended his working visit to Czechoslovakia today and left Karlovy Vary. He was seen off at the airport by Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek and other representatives.

DEPUTY FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER ON THIRD WORLD TIES

LD041756 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Prague, Feb 4 (CTK) -- "In the past five years, Czechoslovak trade relations with developing countries were characterized [words indistinct] necessary growth. Mutual exchanges of goods increased by 20 per cent. Czechoslovakia continued the policy of support for justified demands of developing countries aimed at strengthening their political economic independence."

This point was stressed by Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Jaroslav Jakubec in an interview for CTK today. The minister has recently returned from Moscow where he met with diplomats of 24 countries, mainly African, accredited to Czechoslovakia and resident in Moscow.

Czechoslovakia maintains trade contacts with more than 100 developing countries which account for about 8 per cent of Czechoslovakia's turnover. In the Seventh Five-Year Plan period [word indistinct] mutual trade increased mainly with Syria which is now Czechoslovakia's fourth biggest trade partner among non-socialist states, Jaroslav Jakubec said.

He pointed out a high level of trade with Libya, Egypt, Iran and Iraq. New possibilities of development of trade have been found with India. Trade turnover has increased with Latin American states, mainly with Brazil and Argentina. The minister also positively evaluated the trend of Czechoslovak trade with Ethiopia, Tanzania, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Mexico, Colombia and other states.

Czechoslovakia signed (?25) significant documents on trade with developing countries last year. It grants these states advantageous credits in exports of its goods and maintains a preferential tariff system on imports from most developing countries, Jaroslav Jakubec said.

At the end of 1985, more than 2,500 Czechoslovak experts, mainly physicians and teachers, worked in 40 developing countries, and more than 4,500 students from these countries studied at Czechoslovak universities.

Czechoslovakia helps developing countries with the construction of complete plants, for instance metallurgical, engineering, textile and rubber ones. Czechoslovakia supplies developing countries with equipment for breweries, cement works, mills, silos and canning factories. Machinery and equipment form 54 per cent of Czechoslovakia's exports to developing countries. 90 per cent of Czechoslovak imports from these states are raw materials but Czechoslovakia strives to increase imports of products, mainly consumer goods, the minister said.

REAGAN ADDRESS STRESSES DOMESTIC, ECONOMIC POLICY

LD062019 Budapest in English to Europe 1150 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Vera Sarkany commentary]

[Text] In this year's State of the Union address President Reagan focused merely on the U.S. domestic, political and economic situation. Still, the presidential message in a sense reflected the American foreign policy concept. Vera Sakrany comments:

President Reagan's State of the Union message contained some reassuring elements. For example, that a new Soviet-American summit meeting could hopefully lead to more stable relations between the two countries. [word indistinct] He also said that he himself recognized that the relations should be guided by realism. Still, on the whole the address caused disappointment. After the first Soviet-U.S. summit in many years, and some months before a new top-level meeting, the world expected more, especially more concrete ideas.

The most apparent -- and indeed most disquieting -- shortcoming of the presidential message was the failure to even mention the Soviet Union's large-scale disarmament proposals. This omission cannot be considered as unintentional. The White House is reported to study the Soviet initiative and work out its response. And after the Gorbachev proposals were published, President Reagan even said he was thankful for the Gorbachev initiative.

Against this background one can ask why was there no reference at all to it in the presidential address, and why did the President return to the old phraseology when he said that it was up to the USSR whether an agreement is reached on the limitation of nuclear arms. The answer is unfortunately rather simple.

President Reagan invariably supports the realization of the Space Defense Initiative [as heard] as well as an increase in military spending, while urging legislation to cut other expenditure in order to reduce the budget deficit. The latest Soviet disarmament proposals clearly indicate the Soviet Union's intention to seek new approaches, the possibilities of a compromise, which takes into account the security interests of the other side. And if Washington's decisions are indeed motivated by realism, then it ought to show at least a minimum of readiness to compromise. This, however, was not reflected in the President's State of the Union address.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE VIEWS GORBACHEV PROPOSAL

LD061902 Budapest MTI in English 1708 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Budapest, February 6 (MTI) -- The Thursday session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian National Assembly, held under the chairmanship of Matyas Szuros, discussed the comprehensive Soviet nuclear disarmament plan, which was included in the January 15 statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and adopted a document on the issue. The meeting was attended by Janos Peter, vice-president of the National Assembly, Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and Under-Secretary of State Rezso Banyasz, president of the Information Office of the Council of Ministers.

The Foreign Affairs Committee called it highly important for the international situation that the latest Soviet proposals envisage a concrete schedule up to the end of the century how to free the world of nuclear weapons, prevent the militarization of outer space and abolish all chemical weapons.

It was considered important that the Soviet initiative also presses for the reduction of conventional troops and armaments, mainly in Europe, and calls to use the material means released in the course of curbing the arms race for the acceleration of development and the settlement of pressing problems facing the world today.

The Foreign Affairs Committee pointed out that the proposals pay due attention to the just security demands of every party concerned, and the interests of the whole humankind. Their flexible character offers an opportunity for a step-by-step reasonable solution of problems and the elaboration of progressive compromises at every disarmament forum.

The Foreign Affairs Committee deemed it desirable that the Soviet proposals of universal significance be thoroughly studied by all interested parties, primarily the United States, and receive an early constructive response in keeping with the principles that were jointly adopted at the Geneva summit meeting of the two great power leaders. This might bring a favourable turn in the international situation, clear the way for the final abolition of the nuclear threat, provide long-term guarantees of international security, set off a new phase of detente by promoting confidence, and contribute to the development of mutually advantageous economic, technical-scientific and cultural relations between states with different social systems.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly welcomes and supports the far-reaching Soviet disarmament plan. It expresses the hope that effective agreements will shortly be concluded at various bilateral and multilateral forums on the limitation and gradual liquidation of nuclear and other kinds of weaponry, on the reduction and elimination of the danger of war. The committee is convinced that achievement of this aim requires active contribution from all political circles of responsibility for the future of mankind, governments, parties, public organizations and movements and all peace-loving people, concludes the document of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

TRADE, PAYMENTS AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

AU031456 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 February 86 p 21

[Text] Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress and Minister of Trade of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Khristo Khristov held talks in Budapest on the issues of further developing Hungarian-Bulgarian economic relations and signed a long-term trade and payment agreement for the period 1986-90. Present at the signing of the agreement were Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Boncho Mitev, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Budapest.

According to the stipulations of the agreement, the exchange of goods between the two countries will reach R2.27 billion in 5 years, which means a considerable increase in the exchange of goods. Articulated buses and trolleybuses, nuclear energy and other installations, instruments, electronic elements, computer parts, chemical goods, aluminum blocks, various semifinished products, tires, and pharmaceutical products have an important place in our exports. Bulgaria will export considerable amounts of lifting and transport installations, machine-tools, railroad carriages, computer components, calcinated soda and other chemicals, as well as technical rubber goods.

Janos Ambrus, deputy foreign trade minister, and his Bulgarian partner Marin Marinov, deputy trade minister, signed the protocol of the trade and payments agreement for 1986. Khristo Khristov was received by Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai. The Bulgarian minister also met with Domestic Trade Minister Zoltan Juhar.

SIMPLIFIED FOREIGN TRADE LAWS INTRODUCED

AU301442 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jan 86 p 5

[MTI report: "The Main Point Is the National Economic Interest -- The Awarding of Foreign Trade Rights Will Become Simple"]

[Text] The minister of foreign trade simplified the procedure of awarding, practicing, and withdrawing foreign trade rights. The decree promotes more efficient foreign market activities and enables production firms to adjust more quickly and flexibly to market requirements.

In the Ministry of Foreign Trade, this MTI staff member was told that: This decree is part of the process going on for years to modernize the foreign trade structure. As a result of this process a significant increase has already occurred in firms holding independent foreign trade rights. There were some 130 organizations with this right 5 years ago, while in 1986 there are more than 270.

The new statute will further facilitate the awarding of permanent foreign rights. As against the present single way, there will be two ways for approval. Under the so-called simplified procedure, as a new possibility, the Ministry of Foreign Trade will within 45 days approve an application that satisfies the statute. Under this system, domestic businesses may lodge their request for independent foreign trade rights if they wish to organize the export of their own products and service on convertible markets, or if they plan to import products and services required by their own production.

The other possibility remains the so-called application for a license according to single approvals, which remains similar to the previous procedure but will in many aspects also become simple. The new deadline for approval of applications will drop from 90 to 60 days. It is also possible to apply for foreign trade rights referring to single occasions. A significant change occurred as a result of the new regulation, almost 40 enterprises and business associations that are holding foreign trade rights will automatically receive the parallel foreign trade rights.

The rivalry among foreign trade enterprises must not be detrimental to national economic interests. Therefore, the statute stipulates that those businesses that sell the same products are obliged to cooperate and harmonize their activities in the interest of complying successfully with important requirements on various markets, effectively promoting Hungarian production and trade interests, and in the interest of acting efficiently on foreign markets. In so far as one party does not fulfill these requirements, it is possible to use sanctions, including the withdrawal of foreign trade rights.

IMPORTANCE OF UNDERSTANDING CAPITALISM STRESSED

AU311320 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Jan 86 p 7

[Article by Laszlo Hovanyecz: "The Mistake of Stefan Zweig"]

[Excerpts] Stefan Zweig, the great Austrian writer, who took refuge in South America from fascism, wrote with admiration about a huge Latin American country in his book, "Brazil, the Country of the Future."

South America is, however, only a reminder to me of a phenomenon here at home that is the subject of the mediation that has prompted me to write this article.

There is a frequently heard saying nowadays in the country: our image of socialism must be changed, because it is several decades old, antiquated in certain aspects, and certain points of it could not even stand the tests of the recent past.

Our image of capitalism is, however, none the less acceptable either. The confusion related to this capitalist image is precisely expressed in the following statements, which originate from an author in our literary weekly, who considered his position as a Marxist in a lengthy and recently ended debate in the paper. "Most of the society" in Hungary "...is facing ever increasing problems, while in other parts of Europe, for example -- to go no further than that -- there is nevertheless something going on, something struggling, agonizing, and in anguish, or whatever; something that for this particular nation means some kind of hope, and though in various degrees, still represents a promise for the majority. Because the entire science of Marxist sociology -- within and beyond our borders, regardless of the social system -- must categorically and in our case, with effect to both tactics and strategy, draw the startling conclusion that capitalism as a social system is able to renew itself. One should draw the simple conclusion that the human being is an entity -- should it live in any kind of social organization -- that wants to overcome the difficulties piling up in front of him; and certainly will overcome them if the nature of the social organization is such that it directly or indirectly helps the intention."

The problem with this mentality is that the truth and the semblance of it appear in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Because, on the basis of the almost 200 years of history of capitalism, who could doubt that it is capable of renewal?

Here, however we must stop, because the changes of capitalism so far have always had extremely dramatic consequences -- destruction of the means of production to a great extent, human tragedy, ect. -- and in the most extreme cases, they have resulted in wars (such as the first and second world wars).

Well-known or less well-known facts can be mentioned here. For example, there are more than 30 million unemployed in most developed capitalist countries and within this category more are unemployed in France and the United Kingdom today than in 1933. (How many unemployed are in nondeveloped capitalist countries, nobody knows.)

Or there is the fact that polarization continues inside the developed capitalist world, namely, that certain countries become disadvantaged against the most developed ones such as the aforementioned Great Britain, which, since the turn of the century, has been running the most hopeless competition with major capitalist powers and is not even helped by the fact that it has become a major oil producing power in recent years.

There is the fact that entire regions become disadvantaged in the capitalist world economy, such as Latin America, mentioned at the beginning, the subordination of which, resulting from indebtedness, is one of the constant sources of danger in the world's economy and politics.

There is the fact that the largest deficit in the world is the state deficit of the United States and besides this, its foreign trade deficit has been constant since 1971. This latter deficit reached a record of $125 billion in 1984. No matter how great an economic potential the United States possesses -- precisely because of its impact on the world economy -- mankind is endangered by this indebtedness to an extent that is hardly possible to overrate.

There is the fact that to compensate for its declining economic and technological advantage against its capitalist partners in competition, the United States wishes to gain an ever-increasing military superiority, by way of financing a disproportionately large part of military research and development activities, which from the outset helps the flow of capital into the military-industrial complex.

Countless such examples could be listed. But perhaps this is enough to see that the "self-renewal" of capitalism is not the kind of metamorphosis that solves the problems of mankind. The opposite is true.

It is no coincidence that the aforementioned metamorphosis is accompanied by a neo-liberal conservative trend that began in the United States in the seventies. Its aims are well-known: reducing the social role of the state, attacking those living on wages, radically changing the production structure to the disadvantage of employees, dissipating the capacity of organized labor, etc. What is less well-known is that, as pointed out by several theoreticians, the neo-liberal strategy and ideology is aiming at a new way of distributing capitalist power.

This trend of redistributing power obviously has a direct affect on us, too, because the present efforts of capitalism are not only and not primarily directed toward the redistribution of power, but toward changing the present balance of power in the world. And I think we have arrived at the essence of the matter: in spite of the renewal, the transformation, or to be more precise, because of this, capitalism at the end of the 20th century -- remaining true to its entire 20th century development -- is striving for sovereignty over the world. It is the greatest historical task of socialism today to halt this trend. To do this, however, it is absolutely essential to have a precise understanding of the anatomy of capitalism in our age and let no illusions distort our image of capitalism.

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN-CHINESE AGREEMENT -- Lajos Denes, Hungarian deputy minister of agriculture and food, and Zhu Ankang, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Republic lic of China, signed a Hungarian-Chinese agreement on plant sanitation, in Budapest, on Wednesday [21 January]. The agreement enables the two countries to expand the trade of plants and vegetables subject to plant sanitation control. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 22 Jan 86 LD]

TU TALKS WITH AUSTRIA -- Hungarian and Austrian trade union officials have met in Gyor. Sandor Gaspar, National Council of Trade Union (SZOT) chairman, and Anton Benya, Austrian Trade Union Federation president, informed each other on the two organizations' activities. Sandor Gaspar told his Austrian guest about the experiences of the trade union elections and the preparations for the forthcoming congress. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Feb 86 LD]

NEW ENVOY TO UN -- Janos Nagy, Hungary's ambassador in Austria whom the Presidential Council also assigned to head the permanent representation to the Vienna-based international organizations, presented his credentials to Movaffak Allaf, general director of the Vienna UN Office; to Hans Blix, general director of the IAEA; and to Domingo Siazon, general director of the UN Industrial Development Organization. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Jan p 6 AU]

WALESA TRIAL 11 FEB IN GDANSK PROVINCIAL COURT

AU061759 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1739 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw -- Today the Supreme Court decided that the planned libel lawsuit of workers' leader Lech Walesa is to take place in the Cdansk Provincial Court.

The Supreme Court thus rejected an objection by Walesa's lawyers who had demanded to hold the trial, scheduled for 11 February, at a court of lower instance, due to the insignificance of the charge. Walesa is charged with having accused the authorities of faking the election results.

APPEAL OF MICHNIK, OTHERS SET FOR 18-19 FEB

LD061236 Hamburg DPA in German 1201 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw 6 Feb (DPA) -- The appeals trial before the Polish Supreme Court by the prominent leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union Adam Michnik, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Bogdan Lis has been set for 18 and 19 February. This was reported from the Supreme Court Thursday.

The three opposition figures were sentenced last May to between 2.5 and 3.5 years imprisonment for the alleged preparation of an illegal strike. The appeal had originally been fixed for 14 and 15 January, but had then been postponed for allegedly administrative reasons. [Paris AFP at 1230 GMT on 6 February, reports the trial dates as 17 and 18 February.]

SPOKESMAN CONFIRMS POLE INCLUDED IN 'SPY SWAP'

LD071108 Hamburg DPA in German 1040 GMT 7 Feb 86

[Text] Warsaw 7 Feb (DPA) -- Polish Lieutenant Jerzy Kaczmarek will be included in the East-West spy swap. This was confirmed in Warsaw today by a Polish Government spokesman in response to a DPA inquiry. Kaczmarek was arrested in the FRG in March 1985. The spokesman confirmed that the exchange of agents is to take place on Tuesday. [11 February] According to official statements in Warsaw, Kaczmarek will be the only Polish agent involved in the exchange; no Western agents are to be released from Poland.

MESSNER ARTICLE VIEWS POLISH-SOVIET COOPERATION

AU241153 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish Issue No 12, Signed to Press 10 Dec 85 pp 18-27

[Article by Premier Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member: "Polish-Soviet Cooperation Is an Important Element of Socialist Poland's Development"]

[Text] The role of the USSR, the cradle of Great October, is of fundamental significance for the development of our socialist system and its political and economic structures. Almost throughout all the PPR's history the USSR has always been our most important ally and economic partner.

This historic fact, a result of our brotherhood-in-arms in the struggle against fascism, is the foundation of the Polish raison d'etat and of Polish foreign policy and the guarantee of inviolability of our borders and security. It has also brought our two peoples closer together in friendship and brotherhood.

There are several stages in the steady development of Polish-Soviet relations and economic cooperation and several periods in which Soviet help enabled us to overcome the problems mounting before the Polish economy. This was especially so during the country's reconstruction from the destruction of war, during intensive industrialization and the development of our production potential, and during the past few years when our exclusive efforts to master the acute crisis created by our domestic situation and Western restrictions would have been extremely difficult and even impossible. During all those difficult years we were able to count on reliable Soviet help so that we could preserve our achievements and promote further development.

The constant development of Polish-Soviet cooperation and the progressive integration of the CEMA countries, which has resulted in the increased economic potentials and importance of the socialist community in international production, acquire particular signficance if we recall that immediately after the October Revolution the bourgeoisie continued to maintain that the socialist economy and socialism as such were incapable of survival, and that all efforts to set up a socialist state were doomed to failure. Later events quickly demolished these predictions. This was determined among other things by the level of the production forces and the volume of the industrial output turned out by the socialist countries. The share of this output in world production has exceeded 40 percent in the past few years.

This fact has forced politicians to recognize that socialism is a real political entity. It has also induced bourgeois ideologues to revise their thesis that the decline of socialism is inevitable. However, these ideologues have begun to propagate another thesis, namely, that socialism lags behind the capitalist countries in almost all fields of life. Supplying theoretical proofs that this is so has not been enough. Every effort has been made to implement this thesis through armed interventions, economic blockade, economic sanctions, and the stoppage of the flow of scientific and technological thought. Almost every socialist country has been put under various forms of pressure designed to stunt the socialist system through economic difficulties. This usually goes in hand in hand with noisy, indiscriminate propaganda calculated to discredit the real achievements of the people's democracies. Poland has had a particularly painful experience of these practices in the past few years. The fact that "economic weapons" have been used against our country in conjunction with attempts to intensify our socioeconomic problems has placed us in an extremely difficult economic situation. During this period Soviet help has become new proof of the strength of our two countries' friendship and cooperation.

In the same way as the October Revolution, the history of the USSR, and the emergence of the socialist community have demonstrated the fiasco of the bourgeois ideologues' predictions, the present period and the arrival of the 21st century should be able to confirm that our economies are capable of increased effectiveness and further development, especially in science and technology. This idea was expressed by the CPSU Program for the 27th congress. The program envisages transforming the Soviet economy into the most modern economy in the world with the help of various measures, including intensive development and the highest labor productivity in the world. This can be achieved, among other things, by new lines of development and modern management methods. "It is essential to unhesitatingly abandon past sterotypes of economic management," M. Gorbachev said, noting that structural changes promote faster development and that such changes depend on improvements in the relations among science, technology, and production.

In our country, too, searches continue for the best forms and methods of economic management so the effectiveness of the national economy can be raised. This process has already reached higher stages in many areas.

Intensifying international cooperation with the socialist countries is of crucial importance for the Polish economy. The last 2 years have been a momentous period in the development of Polish-Soviet economic relations. This period has emphasized the difference between our earlier, traditional forms of cooperation and the new proposals listed in the protocol on the coordination of plans in 1986-90. This has begun a qualitatively new phase based on the conviction that our transition to intensive economic development makes it urgently necessary to search for the best forms of economic cooperation, forms that would enable us to concentrate funds and intellectual potentials and to better exploit Polish and Soviet technological achievements.

Last year's Moscow session of the CEMA countries, during which the member countries' economic policies were coordinated for the first time on such a big scale, provided the impetus to promote that process. The session stressed most clearly the need to intensify economic processes based on the criteria of effectiveness and with the help of the benefits accruing from international economic cooperation. The session's documents mapped out the range of cooperation necessary and agreed that it is most desirable to cooperate on scientific-technological progress, the rational exploitation of material resources, the development of specialization and coproduction, and the rational meeting of needs in fuels and raw materials. These are strategic areas relating to the development of the entire community and each of its members. The world race for effectiveness and its speed and range continue to hinder and at times make impossible the solution of problems solely by one's scientific research base and one's potential for financing research, experiments, and production. Only coordinated international efforts make it possible for one to swim with the stream of technological changes.

Speaking on behalf of all the countries at the Moscow session, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski highly praised its results and said: "Our cooperation has produced rich yields. The session's decisions are of great, almost historic significance for the development of CEMA countries, for the intensification of their cooperation, and for the consolidation of their unity and cohesion. Good foundations have been created to increase the speed and range of the economic and scientific-technological integration of the socialist community, and to ensure its economic security. This is more than ever necessary in the face of the challenge of the present times, and the imperialist pressure and discrimination."

The Long-Term Program for Polish-Soviet Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Until the Year 2000, signed in 1984, initiated Polish-Soviet undertakings consistent with the decisions of the Moscow session. This program is one of the major events in the 40 years of Polish-Soviet relations. It is of crucial importance for the future development of our economic and scientific-technological cooperation and possesses great political significance. It also makes it possible to program mutual cooperation for 5-year periods or longer, to define the strategy of its development, and to create lasting treaty foundations for expanding this cooperation. The program is of special significance for Poland in that it guarantees us security in international economic relations and affords us great opportunities to reduce our technological and cooperative dependence on the capitalist countries and to prevent the West from exploiting the existing economic links for political purposes.

The program's social goal is to comprehensively improve living and working conditions of the citizens in our two countries. This will be achieved by the means used to implement the program, means involving joint efforts to develop technologically and economically modern production methods to increase the social productivity of labor and the effectiveness of exploiting available material resources and funds. The program covers all those areas that -- also in the distant future -- will be of fundamental importance for ensuring that production is consistent with the growing aspirations of the Polish and Soviet peoples.

The program places great emphasis on the need to accelerate the rate of scientific, technical, and technological development, particularly in microelectronics, automation, and industrial robots. The program stresses those fields which will determine the development of a new generation of technology. In other branches of the economy -- the iron and steel industry, non-ferrous metals industry, the chemical industry, transportation, and agriculture -- cooperation will focus on the introduction of the latest technology. Fruitful cooperation in these areas, the fast but lasting development of these fields, calls for "a long-term strategy" that truly looks to the future and is balanced during its implementation.

In the program, Poland and the Soviet Union placed great stress on the need for a more far-reaching form of cooperation and on the effectiveness of coordination processes with a view to optimally exploiting the resources at our disposal. These activities must have an integrated character, that is, they must encompass joint formulation, the joint resolution of problems, joint production organization, and joint implementation, particularly in the field of specialization and the introduction of modern production process automation systems.

The first stage in the implementation of the long-term program of cooperation and the decisions arrived at by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, ended 7 October with the signing of a protocol on the coordination of plans for the upcoming 5-year period. The trade level between the two countries will exceed the 1981-1985 level by about 35 percent and will be worth almost R74 billion. Preliminary assessments indicate Poland will once again become the Soviet Union's second largest trading partner. Poland's trade with the Soviet Union will comprise two-thirds of Poland's trade with CEMA countries. The planned trade pattern will facilitate the export of Polish machines and equipments and will ensure regular supplies of Soviet raw materials. The two-way supply of machines and equipment will represent 44 percent of total trade while the supply of fuels and raw materials will represent 42 percent. Soviet supplies in both areas will be worth almost R35 billion (machines and equipment will account for R10.5 billion of this figure). Poland, on the other hand, will supply almost R29 billion worth of goods to the Soviet Union (of which machines and equipment will account for R23 billion).

Polish exporters will fulfill large Soviet orders for ships, rolling stock, machine-tools, electric motors, electronic computer equipment; automatic control engineering systems and measuring apparatus; communication systems; machinery for the building and road construction industries; and numerous other items of industrial machinery and equipment. Polish imports from the Soviet Union will include, inter alia, automatic and semi-automatic lathes, industrial robots, power generating equipment -- including equipment for nuclear power stations -- equipment for the iron and steel industry, and a wide range of other items of machinery and equipment for other branches of the economy. Trade in finished consumer goods will grow by about 45 percent and will be worth between R8 and R9 billion. We will import, inter alia, tractors and farm machinery, automatic washing machines, color television sets, refrigerators, freezers, bicycles, motorcycles, cameras, and light bulbs. We will export textile products, leather products, and pharmaceuticals.

TEXT Alongside the trade increase will be an expansion of trade cooperation to raise technical and technological standards in both new and traditional branches of industry. The value of supplies in this area will reach R18 to R22 billion. This means that one-third of the total value of Polish-Soviet trade for 1986 to 1990 will be allocated for direct economic cooperation at the enterprise, scientific research institute, and other scientific, industrial, and economic organization levels. Cooperation in this field will affect the aircraft, automotive, building and construction machinery, machine-tool and chemical industries. As a result of this cooperation many new types of products will appear for the first time and many other products will be updated. We are planning, inter alia, to make joint preparations for the production of a modern delivery vehicle, powered by a compression-ignition engine, and a new generation of color television sets.

It was agreed the Soviet Union will assist us in completing capital spending projects we are unable to complete ourselves because of the limited resources at our disposal. This concerns the engineering industry in particular, including the manufacture of building and road construction machinery, as well as the chemical industry and the building industry joinery sector. It was agreed the Soviet Union will participate in developing the potential of Polish repair shipyards.

Our country will be involved in the construction of certain facilities in the Soviet Union. As in the past, we will be involved in the development of the Soviet fuels and raw materials base, and in doing so we will ensure regular supplies of fuels and raw materials for ourselves. In accordance with the agreements reached, crude oil deliveries will be maintained at this year's level, whereas the supply of natural gas will increase significantly.

Contained in the framework of the agreement on 5-year plans are several decisions concerning the implementation of the long-term integrated program for scientific and technological progress signed in September.

The basic goal behind these decisions is to seek ways and means of modernizing production: to extend the use of production technology which uses less energy and fewer materials; and to establish scientific and technological undertakings which will eliminate the consequences of the technological and economic blockade imposed by capitalist countries, and which will allow us to reduce our dependence on imports from these countries. We foresee the designing of 110 types of new machines, instruments, and items of equipment; 80 modern technological processes; and 20 types of new materials. These undertakings will be realized in complete cycles beginning with research and ending with the commencement of production.

As envisaged in the agreements, trade and development cooperation in the field of expanding and modernizing Poland's production potential will result in Soviet exports to Poland exceeding Polish exports to the Soviet Union, particularly during the years 1986 to 1988: this will be covered by medium-term credits provided by the Soviet Union. In accordance with the 1984 summit decisions, the pattern of trade for the whole 5-year period will be balanced. It was agreed that we would defer capital repayment on our debt with the Soviet Union until 1990, which means that during the upcoming 5-year period we will only meet interest payments on the credits with which we have been provided to cover the negative trade-balance.

It is worth stressing that coordination of plans is an ongoing process at present and allows for some degree of flexibility. This is because the undertakings which have been planned and agreed to go beyond the years 1986 to 1990. As changes and new possibilities arise in the economics of both countries, one can expect a further extension of undertakings which will be the subject of later consultations and agreements.

LAST LINE

The existence of such possibilities is proven by the fact that in recent months planned cooperation for the upcoming 5-year period has been broadened significantly. Talks in the first half of this year fixed the level of trade for 1986 to 1990 at R33.4 billion for both sides. Neither side was satisfied with this arangement. As a result, the range of the talks was extended considerably: teams of specialists, and representatives of enterprises and scientific institutions were involved in the talks to a greater degree. As a result, the planned level of two-way trade was raised to about R37 billion for both Poland and the Soviet Union. Many talks and consultations have not ended yet and may result in the planned level of trade being increased still further.

Economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union and enduring ties between the economies of the two countries guarantee the stable and dynamic development of the Polish economy, and ensure Poland will become less dependent on capitalist countries. This shows that the process of reorienting our economy toward cooperation with socialist countries, and with the Soviet Union in particular, is well underway, and it represents a strategic trend in PZPR activity.

As is apparent from the information stated above, we are increasingly moving toward direct forms of cooperation with the Soviet Union at all levels, beginning with direct cooperation between enterprises and ending with institutions and central offices. This type of cooperation has many advantages: it is intensive, concrete, and produces quick results. It requires, therefore, greater involvement, activeness, and responsibility. Direct cooperation in particular calls for acceptance of responsibility for one's own part in the process at the level of the enterprise, the research institute, the college, the town and the voivodship; acceptance of this responsibility is an essential factor for further strengthening and developing cooperation between our states. Knowledge of the needs of one's partner, of what one can provide for him, as well as of the areas in which cooperation would be most fruitful, together with the ongoing development of one's own ideas and their active promotion are all essential elements for strengthening the Soviet Union's interest in developing comprehensive ties with our country.

It is also necessary to stress that the very expansion of programs and plans does not implement them. The punctual accomplishment of agreed tasks and the regularity and quality of supplies for partners are the necessary conditions for current and long-term cooperation in all areas.

To reach the planned level of trade and joint scientific and economic projects and to ensure Polish-Soviet cooperation as one of the basic means of more speedily overcoming our economic crisis, it is necessary to encourage workers, officials, and people to support this cooperation, especially in all those enterprises and institutions directly committed to it.

In 1984, 54 Polish and 54 Soviet enterprises directly participated in this cooperation. This year [1985] they have been joined by 32 Polish and 32 Soviet enterprises.

During mutual visits, most enterprises signed long-term cooperation accords and programs. They are valuable because they ensure that the main task of our cooperation is to develop the production of goods, to promote specialization and coproduction links, to improve the quality and reliability of production, to jointly devise new designs and technologies, and to avoid imports from capitalist countries.

The accords regarded as the best cooperation programs include those signed between the Masovia petrochemical plant and the Polimer Combine in Novopolotsk; between the Zamet mechanical plant and the rolling plant combine in Kramatorsk; between the Organika-Foton photochemical plant in Bydgoszcz and the Pozitiv plant in Leningrad; between the Chemitex-Elena textile plant in Torun and the Khimvolokno Combine in Mokhylov, and between seven Polish automobile plants and research u .ts and organizations run by the Soviet Ministry of Automobile Industry.

Aside from already cooperating enterprises, 51 Polish and 40 Soviet scientific research units have established cooperation or are in the course of establishing it this year. [1985]

This brief presentation of Polish-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation permits us to again assert that current joint projects crucially help us to implement our strategic plans for gearing our economy to more intensive cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries. The choice of this reorientation is a result not only of our ideological community, but also involves the interests of our people and solicitude for their future and security. Only the united economic and intellectual resources of the socialist countries can overcome the doctrinal principles of Western policy, which seeks technological world supremacy.

This policy seeks to set up zones of "controlled poverty" in the world, as attested to by the arguments of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the leading capitalist theoretician and ideologue, who claims that in the year 2000 the world will be divided into five groups of countries that will differ in the exclusive standards of scientific-technological development, and that these countries will be run by the "most advanced post-industrial countries of the technological era." This thesis, formulated at the turn of the sixties and seventies, assumes that the socialist system will disappear in some dozens of years and that typical "Bantustan" states will be set up to benefit a few prosperous countries free from a debased natural environment and that take advantage of the cultural and economic achievements of the entire world community.

This is not a new vision. Its roots reach back to the colonial epoch, when peoples were deprived of independence and natural resources in the name of civilization. The past several years demonstrated the illusoriness of many "development theories" formulated by capitalist theoreticians, but this does not mean that they have given up their goals, as attested to by the fact that capitalist countries, especially the United States, continue to consistently block the flow of scientific-technological thought. This is demonstrated by specific facts and undertakings launched under the pretext that military expansion by the socialist community countries threatens Western democracies. It may serve as an example to state the value of the export of modern U.S. technologies to the socialist countries in 1983 amounted to only about 0.3 percent of sales totaling almost $58 billion. In this context we should note the activities of the so-called COCOM, which ensures that NATO is in control of exports to the socialist countries.

The socialist countries can respond to this only with further consolidation and through intensified development on the basis of their own potential. However, this does not mean they want to shun cooperation with the capitalist countries. We have often stressed our readiness to promote such cooperation, but on a partnerlike basis and without political interference in the affairs of our peoples and countries.

The USSR has drawn up extremely ambitious development plans, presented in the draft "Main Lines of the USSR's Socioeconomic Development in 1986-90 and Until the Year 2000." This draft states that the production potential and national income of the USSR will be doubled by the year 2000 as a result of intensive economic processes.

Despite its difficult economic situation, our country must also bank on development so it may retain its place among developed countries and guarantee for its people the working and living standards consistent with their aspirations and needs. In this concluding speech at the national party-economic conference this year [1985] W. Jaruzelski said: "We are living in momentous times and are faced with an acute and brutal problem: Either we are able to cope with modernity, keep abreast of developments, clearly improve our people's material and cultural existence, and strengthen our position in our community, in Europe, and in the world or we will 'bring up the rear' and face degradation, which would mean lamentable pauperization for our people." He also said in connection with this problem: "We have chosen the first alternative and we have categorically rejected the second. This is not a lip-service statement or wishful thinking. We have every objective and subjective opportunity to develop."

Our efforts to tighten our bonds with the fraternal socialist countries are a practical expression of this choice and its consistent fulfillment. However, in this connection we should be aware that it will not be easy to keep abreast of the socialist countries. This calls for constantly improving the effectiveness and modernity of our economy, for efforts to ensure cooperation with our country is attractive for every our partner, and that our place in the socialist community is consistent with our real opportunities and potential.

Viewing Polish-Soviet cooperation and the friendly and mutually beneficial Polish-Soviet economic and political relations, it is impossible to forget a further, most important aspect of our alliance. The efforts to raise the standards of science and technology go hand in hand with the growing defensive might and power of the Warsaw Pact countries.

Increasing the defensive might of the Warsaw Pact countries and the recent prolongation of the validity of the armed alliance of the socialist countries does not mean that we want to threaten anyone. I explained the nature of these actions in my Sejm speech on 12 November of this year, in which I said: "Our activity is conditioned by the specific development of the world situation, now exceptionally complicated. We have moved closer to the borderline, the crossing of which could make it impossible to control events and could lead to a catastrophe. This situation requires all countries to be active and to urgently search for solutions to burning problems.

"The recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Sofia was an eloquent expression of this. The declaration on eliminating the nuclear threat and improving the situation in Europe and the world is an especially important document, which notes that at a crucial moment for the future of East-West relations and in the face of serious dangers to peace the countries of the socialist political-defence alliance will not cease to try energetically to lower tension, eliminate the threat of nuclear war, and bring back detente."

In the face of serious threats to world peace the Polish people and all nations keenly awaited the summit between Soviet and U.S. leaders. In the period before the meeting we gave unequivocal support to the far-reaching proposals presented by the USSR at the Geneva disarmament negotiations and formulated by Mikhail Gorbachev to the effect that the upsurge of armaments should be curbed and the nuclear arsenal should be reduced.

The Geneva summit on 18-21 November of this year has clearly confirmed that the USSR's unshakable resolve to preserve peace is producing results consistent with the expectations of the world public.

TEXT Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in the declaration issued at the end of the Geneva summit: "The Soviet Union will make all possible efforts to strive, jointly with the United States, toward finding practical solutions to the realization of the tasks of curbing the arms race, reducing the stockpiles of weapons, and ensuring conditions for lasting peace between our peoples and for peace on earth and in space." This statement is characterized by a feeling of responsibility for the fate of all mankind, for the peaceful development of the peoples of the world. The Soviet Union and all the other countries which belong to the socialist community will expect a similarly responsible approach to problems raised at the meeting to be made by the American side during further work on the resolution of these problems.

The Prague meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders after Geneva confirmed the consistent manner in which the socialist community states strive to take all possilbe actions to maintain world peace. The Prague meeting expressed the unity of the allied states in their assessment of the current world situation, and affirmed their full support for the constructive position set out by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during the Geneva talks.

There are many aspects to the significance of the Geneva summit and the successful resolution of the problems raised there. Its significance touches many areas of life and cooperation between states. Removing the specter of nuclear war and reducing international tensions should make a significant contribution to the beginning of a new period in cooperation, to the resolution of many international problems, including economic problems.

Favorable external political conditions create a basis for the development and enhancement of mutually advantageous economic cooperation. Economic cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries has acquired this kind of many-sided and enhanced character. Today it constitutes one of the manifestations of the deeper bonds which link our societies, bonds which are arising in our understanding and interpretation of the world, bonds stemming from our joint pursuit of strivings to create a prosperous socialist society which enjoys all life's benefits.

This cooperation serves the attainment of a fundamental goal for socialism, that is the best possible satisfaction of the working people's needs at a given time in history.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS EDUCATION, YOUTH AFTER PLENUM

AU060956 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Feb 86 p 1

[Piotr Rzadca commentary: "Education, Youth, the Future"]

[Text] Most of the participants in the months-old public discussion on the state of our education may feel satisfied. At its 24th plenary session, the Central Committee considered most exhaustively the opinions, postulates, and objectives expressed in this discussion. It summed up these opinions and converted them into a complex strategy of action over the next few years toward education and removing the obstacles to its development.

At the same time, against the broadest background of the future party program, the plenum opened a new stage of discussion on the future of the general and higher education system.

LAST LINE

Careful readers of the published plenum documents are also satisfied by the business-like nature of the speeches and decisions. A thorough analaysis of the day-to-day reality of schools and colleges was made, as well as a fair assessment of their successes and visible shortcomings. While seeking the sources of the existing situation, the plenum also objectively pointed out how much depends on teaching and how much on the whole of society for education to bring greater social advantage. A unified picture of national education was presented against the background of its 40-year development, which illustrates its undeniable achievements and shows that is out of date and must be replaced by new features.

The Central Committee pointed out the modern significance of educational activity to improve social relations, and underlined the ideals and patterns which should govern this activity. It recalled that the Central Committee decisions concerning party policy toward young people are constantly binding and stressed the urgent need to encourage, before the 10th congress, as many young people as possible to take part in discussions on Poland's future.

We are entitled to be proud of our educational revolution. It is therefore good that the plenum recalled its achievements. This revolution possesses such a valuable and lasting significance that it should be a feature of historical education to successive classes of young people may know the advancement made possible by socialist political transformations. It is good that we have recalled these achievements without feeling any complexes toward other countries, because the toil of hundreds of thousands of teachers and social activities has to be honored. At patriotic and socialist upbringing is also based on such traditions.

It was high time to sum up the growing criticism of education and turn it into a real program for improving schools and colleges. The Central Committee stance adopted at the 24th plenum respects these voices and postulates, and proposes concrete steps to be taken by the party, state administration, teachers, and all the institutions involved, as well as parents. The sources of education's shortcomings were revealed, so now it is easier to remove them. What should be done to improve the work of shools and colleges was revealed, so now no one can say that he does not know or is disoriented. It was clearly said how this process of improvement should be carried through and who may influence it the most. Therefore the time has come to act, and the time for formulating postulates is over.

This kind of stance was expected by the teaching community, which is most concerned with removing internal impediments and gaining political support for its own efforts toward improving education.

Is the entire teaching community so concerned? The community is varied; divided into those who want improvement, greater effectiveness, and thus greater satisfaction and those who fulfill their obligations at a lower level of ambition and with a lower feeling of responsibility. Therefore, the sooner we remove the obstacles hampering the work of the first group (and these obstacles often form a kind of alibi for the second group), the stronger our support for good people will be, and the greater will be their influence in every school and college. In this way they will determine the kind of education we will have in the next few years.

Before the 10th Congress we are also faced with discussion on the future of Polish schools and what they are to be like in the more distant future. An important feature of the 24th plenum was the suggestion that developments be introduced into teaching. Educational patterns cannot be formed only in the studies of scholars.

They must also emerge as a result of various experiments and as a result of liberating the creative ambitions of teachers, to which the work of theoreticians should be added. The development of such a process is a practical contribution to the discussion on the future of education. The Central Committee considered what form the next stage of the education revolution should take. This is a particularly important and difficult topic because the first requirements for imagining this stage are only just being formed.

The accent falls on quality, on a greater influence by schools and the shaping of attitudes, characters, views, and consciousness; and in consequence thereof on the shaping social and interpersonal relations.

Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the 24th plenum: "Our party's aim to consolidate socialist ideological, ethical, and reconaissance features in education and to counteract negative phenomena is not a means of facilitating doctrine, but an elementary condition for preparing pupils and students for the future."

PUBLIC OPINION POLL MEASURES SOCIAL MOODS

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Jan 86 pp 1, 4, 5, 6

[Article by Colonel Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, head of the Public Opinion Poll Center: "Poles' Social Moods and Political Views -- A Little More Hope"]

[Excerpts] The movement of prices has stopped agitating our people as was the case previously. Some 52.8 percent of the urban population (including 51 percent of workers) expressed the conviction in January 1985, when a new price hike was announced, that prices for staple consumer goods will never remain steady in Poland. The price hike itself was accepted calmly: 58.4 percent of people (including 55.7 percent of workers) thought it was inevitable for economic and other reasons, 21.3 percent thought it could have been avoided, and 18.3 percent had no opinion.

The poll, carried out in October 1985, revealed that 77.5 percent of people thought bad economic management at every step was primarily responsible for price hikes, 61.6 percent thought poor work organization in most enterprises was responsible, 55.8 percent thought the fact that socialized enterprises raised prices under any pretext was responsible, 55.8 percent thought the need to repay foreign debts was responsible, 49.7 percent thought shoddy work by most workers was responsible, and 49.1 percent thought that the escalation of prices by private initiative and Polonia firms was responsible.

People evaluate the economic life of the country from the standpoint of prices, wages, and work. They evaluate it resolutely and critically and with the anxiety that is much greater than in the case of the political situation, which was still marked by conflicts not so long ago.

In December 1984, 15.6 percent of the people questioned thought that their material conditions were good, 58.8 percent average, 17.9 percent bad, and 7 percent "did not know." As for the economic situation, 11.2 percent thought it was good, 44.6 percent average; 38.2 percent bad, and 5.2 percent "did not know." As for the political situation, 17.7 percent thought it was good, 41.9 percent average, 24.6 percent bad, and 15.3 percent "did not know."

In December 1985 14.4 percent of people thought that their material conditions were good, 55.8 percent average, 25.1 bad, and 4.3 "did not know." As for the economic situation, 11.9 percent thought it was good, 34.8 percent average, 46 percent bad, and 7.1 percent "did not know." As for the political situation, 27.8 percent thought it was good, 37.9 percent average, 15 percent bad, and 19.2 percent "did not know."

This shows that economic worries push political problems into the background. Compared with 1984, in 1985 the evaluation of the people's material conditions and the country's economic situation was more critical than was the case with the political situation.

Only 15 percent of the people questioned regard the political situation as bad, although 30.5 percent take the view that the political conflict is not over, and 46.1 percent see unrest and tension of the community. This is a kind of contradiction, which is explained by answers to the question of what to do to overcome the political conflict and what causes tension. People often advanced economic causes and difficulties and generally expressed the conviction that we need peace to solve matters of basic importance. The people regard the peace of the country as most important after world peace and more important than personal freedom, national defense, and civic rights. This was what they said in September 1985. Despite property differences and divergent political views, our people are as one on this score as they are as one on very few other scores.

Political divisions are a class in themselves and cut across classes and job groups. They have no clear connection with place of residence, age, education, and even religion. I say "even" because it is generally assumed that religiousness or otherwise influences political attitudes. But the results of public polls show there are no grounds for taking religion into account when formulating political conclusions about people. Political declarations are not connected with religious declarations to such an extent. What is more, there are situations in which devoutly religious people make calm statements, which suggests that they are pro-government. Such people include mainly elderly persons, pensioners, and rural inhabitants who are farmers. These people rarely speak from positions that are against the policy of the party and the government.

A crucial changeable factor that influences political views is the membership of the party and the former membership of Solidarity. The number of the latter among those responding to public polls in decreasing. Between September and December 1985 their ratio decreased from 27 to 23 percent, but the ratio of those who maintain that they did not belong to any trade unions prior to martial law increased from 50.8 to 54.6 percent in the same period. The technical intelligentsia, brigade leaders and technicians are the people who most often admit membership of Solidarity. Every fourth one of those who today admit to former membership of Solidarity is a party member.

Not many people are interested in politics. If we rely on data polled in December 1985, only 15.8 percent of people continue to take keen notice of political events. Some 43.1 percent are interested only in main events, and over 40 percent are actually not interested or are interested to a very slight extent. For 29 percent politics is "too complicated and too difficult to comprehend." For 54.5 percent political events are only half-way understandable.

Some people are for the increased role of representative institutions, but they do not want to participate in them and are indifferent to social affairs. Others are for direct democracy, preferably by means of the referendum. Some 95 percent think important national issues on which there is no consensus should be settled by national referendums. A total of 81.7 percent were for Sejm discussions and decisions. 76.5 percent were for discussions and decisions between trade unions and similar organizations, on the one hand, and the government, on the other; and 66.6 percent were for discussions and decisions between trade unions and organizations, on the one hand, and the party and the sister political parties, on the other. This data was obtained in August 1984.

Is our society mature enough to shoulder responsibility and practice democracy? In August 1984, 43 percent of the people questioned thought that it is, and 39.5 percent thought that it was not. For the sake of democracy some people are ready to recognize political opposition and others are not, and think there can be no question of reaching agreement with those who engage in anti-Polish activities. Some 47.4 percent of those answering the poll last December thought that people engaging in antistate political activities should be punished, 30 percent had no opinion, and only 22.2 percent were against such punishment. We are more liberal vis-a-vis the amnesty proposed by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Only 7.5 percent of people were against freeing political prisoners and 26.8 percent did not know what it was all about, or found it difficult to take a position.

We are all waiting for better conditions which, as we know, depend on economic progress, but we are not in agreement as to the lines and methods of reforming the economy.

Those for the free-maket economy favor great differentiation of our society to increase effectiveness and want to follow in the footsteps of the developed capitalist countries. It seems to them that it is possible to repeat the 19th century road to development. Spellbound by the prosperity in the West, they continue to dream of keeping abreast of it in production and consumption and for this reason they are ready to adopt measures counter to our political ideals: administrative unemployment and enforced effectiveness of performance, even without raises in wages. They are for increases, development, efficiency, and rationality at any cost, including the price of ecological degradation, devastated raw materials, and turning the Polish economy into a vassal economy. I assure you that these people will not enjoy any considerable support in our community.

There are those who prefer the old paternal economic system and the restricted play of market forces in favor of the domination of the state as the organizer of economic processes. There are also those who would like to reconcile the instruments of the market and of cost effectiveness analysis with the general state economy and the principles of the political system. The effectiveness of economic management continues to win more and more advocates, provided it is not achieved at the cost of deteriorating the minimum living standards and causing too drastic social differences. Those who earn higher wages and possess high qualifications are primarily in favor of effectiveness and high rewards for it. Those who earn the lowest wages, possess low qualifications, and are old are in favor of social security and limits on the ceilings wages.

As for international policy, all measures are welcome that are aimed at restoring Poland's partnerlike position in the world community, at strengthening its political sovereignty, and revitalizing its economic links with the world. The people questioned disapprove of any curbs, whatever their origin, on efforts to implement these measures.

This can be clearly seen in the changing evaluations of the policy followed vis-a-vis Poland by the capitalist and socialist countries. Whereas in the case of the socialist countries these evaluations are steady, in the case of the capitalist countries they change in response to changes in sanctions against Poland and its isolation in the international arena.

In March 1985, 7.9 percent of the people questioned thought the Western countries' attitude toward Poland was good, 27.4 percent neither good nor bad, 50.9 percent bad, and 13.2 percent could not say. In December 1985, 18.1 percent of these people thought that this attitude was good, 45 percent neither good nor bad, 26.7 percent bad, and 10.1 percent could not say.

Only a few years ago America and the Americans were synonyms of positive phenomena for our people, but since 1982 our people have begun to evaluate U.S. policy and the United States with increasing severity. In September 1985 as many as 89 percent of adults questioned thought U.S. policy threatened peace. Over 35 percent of the adults questioned and as many as 42.3 percent of secondary general and vocational school graduates listed the United States as the second country that Poland should be afraid of, after the FRG. A mere 5.2 percent of adults and 6.3 percent of young people thought that the United States is Poland's ally.

In response to the question whether one can believe President Reagan's assertion that weapons in space will serve only defense, 8.5 percent of the questioned people replied "yes." This is more or less the figure to which sympathy for and faith in the U.S. Administration has fallen in our country.

Summing up, the people questioned by our center evaluated 1985 as a rather average year for Poland. Some 50 percent thought it was neither good nor a bad year, almost one-third thought it was a good year, and 15.4 percent thought it was rather a bad year. As for the country's future, the views of these people were reserved. One-third thought there would be no changes in 1986 either for better or for worse. One-third thought 1986 would prove to be a better year than 1985, and 15.2 percent thought it would be worse. Almost every fifth person questioned thought it would be worse. But this is another topic.

BRIEFS

GDANSK SHIPYARD PRODUCTION -- The January production results at the Gdansk repair shipyard are very good indeed. The monthly plan has been exceeded by 21 percent in domestic production, by 5 percent in production for the first payments zone, and by 31 percent in the case of the dollar zone. Altogether, 27 ships have been repaired, including a dozen or so Polish vessels, as well as ships belonging to Soviet and FRG shipowners. This good start right at the beginning of the year will presumably result in the tasks for the first quarter being considerably exceeded. [Text] [Warsaw Televison Service in Polish 2126 GMT 31 Jan 86 LD]

FACTORY DIRECTOR ARRESTED -- The security service at the voivodship internal affairs office in Krakow is conducting an investigation into economic abuses at the Tunnel Furnace Assembly and Delivery Enterprise. The managing director of this firm, Mieczyslaw K, has been placed under temporary arrest. He is suspected of having forged financial documents connected with official trips abroad and with the misappropriation of public property. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1226 GMT 31 Jan LD]

ANNIVERSARY OF USSR FRIENDSHIP TREATY MARKED

'Dynamic Development'

AU041321 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1255 GMT 4 Feb 86

["Lasting Relations of Friendship and Fruitful Collaboration Between Romania and the Soviet Union" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/2/1986 -- As many as 38 years are celebrated on February 4 since the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, a document of special importance that marked a new, qualitatively superior stage in the evolution of the relations between the two countries and peoples. This celebration occasions are reviewing of the evolution of the traditional Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and collaboration that have witnessed a dynamic development in all the domains -- political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural. Currently the relations between Romania and the USSR are based on the new treaty signed in Bucharest in 1970. The Romanian-Soviet summit interviews and talks held since the signing of the document, the understandings made on those occasions have given a decisive impetus to the bilateral relations.

One of the leading spheres of these relations is the economic collaboration that is developing at a sustained rate, great prospects existing for its amplification. The Soviet Union has held constantly the first place in Romania's foreign economic relations. In 1984 the trade between the two countries was six times larger than in 1970. The accord on the exchange of goods and the payments stipulates an important rise in the volume of bilateral trade as compared to the previous five-year plan period, as well as an expansion and diversification of deliveries. A significant component of the economic exchanges is the larger delivery of machines and tools: approximately one-third of the bilateral exchanges. Special attention is being paid by both parties to the cooperation in production in the construction of machines for the chemical and oil industries and to the specialization in the production of heavy, transport, power generation equipment, tractors and agricultural machines. Within the cooperation activity an important place is held by the development, with joint effort, of certain economic units in Romania and the USSR.

The Romanian-Soviet collaboration in science and technology has also taken new, mutually-advantageous forms. The programme for cooperation and collaboration in the field over the 1986-1990 period, recently signed in Bucharest, covers over 130 problems and themes in all the important domains of the two countries' economies: the extractive industry, the metallurgical, metallurgy, machine building, the chemical industry, the construction and the building materials industry, agriculture and the food industry.

In the international plane Romania collaborates with the Soviet Union in order to avoid a nuclear catastrophe, to halt the arms race, the nuclear one in particular, for halting the production and siting of further nuclear weapons in Europe and throughout the world, for a strengthened international collaboration and security. Romania has welcomed the new proposals carried in the programme of measures of disarmament presented by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, considering this programme to be very important and these proposals to meet the expectations of the peoples, being of a nature to contribute to the progress of the cause of disarmament and peace.

'Festive Meeting'

AU041910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 4 Feb 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 4/2/1986 -- On the afternoon of Tuesday, February 4, a festive meeting was held in Bucharest, on the anniversary of 38 years since the first friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance treaty was signed between Romanian and the USSR.

Petre Fluture, deputy minister of the heavy-duty equipment industry, spoke about the significance of the event and highlighted the importance of the signing of the first friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance treaty between Romania and the USSR.

The new Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union, signed in July 1970, the speaker pointed out, ushered in a new, higher stage in the manysided development of the friendly and cooperative ties between the two parties, states and peoples. Highly significant for the development of those ties was the top-level signing in November 1976 of the declaration on the continual development of the fraternal collaboration and friendship between the RCP and the CPSU, between Romania and the Soviet Union.

The ties of friendship and solidarity between the two countries' leading political RCP and the CPSU -- and, more particularly, summit meetings and talks, as well as the decisions and understandings reached on those occasions played a decisive role in the development of Romanian-Soviet relations, opening up fresh horizons for Romanian-Soviet collaboration in all fields. In this respect, last year's meetings between Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev had a high political significance, as they emerged as moments of paramount importance for the growth of the links between the two countries and peoples.

Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, then took the floor and, referring to the event, he underscored that the document's goals and principles had been developed by the 1970 treaty and the 1976 Soviet-Romanian joint declaration. The understandings covenanted during the meetings between the CPSU and the RCP leaders, M.S. Gorbachev and Nicolae Ceausescu, confirm the resolve further to strengthen revolutionary brotherhood, alliance relations of friendship and manysided collaboration. Next, the speaker spoke at length about the development prospects of the collaboration and cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, and expressed confidence that, in future, too, the cooperation between the CPSU and the RCP, the friendship and manysided collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples, between the USSR and Romania would strengthen and develop, for the benefit of the Soviet and Romanian peoples, in the interest of socialism and peace.

The participants in the meeting saw round a photograph exhibition titled "On the Eve of the 27th Congress of the CPSU."

On the same occasion, a meeting was held at the club of the construction materials enterprise of Constanta. The significance of the even was recalled by Gheorghe Ionescu, deputy chairman of the County People's Council Executive Committee, and Kallibekh Kamalov [spelling as received] consul-general of the USSR in Constanta.

ECONOMIC MEASURES FOSTER NATIONAL IMPROVEMENT

AU061241 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1214 GMT 6 Feb 86

["New Regulations To Improve the Economico-Financial Mechanism" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/2/1986 -- A series of measures have recently been adopted in Romania to improve the economico-financial mechanism which modify and complete some provisions of previous laws. Among other things, the new regulations envisage the further improvement of planning in the national economy and specify the liabilities incumbent on the State Planning Committee, on ministries, central departments and enterprises in this domain. From the new regulations worth mentioning are those referring to the enhancement of responsibility of collective management bodies, of ministries, central departments and enterprises and of personal responsibility for the smooth run of economic activity so as to protect the integrity of the socialist patrimony. Measures are set for the improvement of the institutions of worker democracy and self-management: working people's general meetings and councils which are in charge of the whole production process, from supply to the sale of finished products, for the intensive development of the national economy and the reduction of production costs. An additional regulation is worth mentioning according to which the members of the working people's councils executive bureau in any enterprise carry collective responsibility for the profits they failed to achieve, the production tasks it did not fulfill and the consumption norms it did not observe, if they are found guilty of not having taken the proper measures for the unfaulty run of the production process.

Collective liability does not exclude but, on the contrary, implies the personal liability of each and every member, according to its function, attributions and competences. In particular, the executives answer materially for the losses they cause by engaging the material and cash expenditures of the unit and for not having taken measures in due course to make up for the losses.

Other regulations concern the improvement of technicomaterial supply, the mechanism of contract-based relations between enterprises and set the material responsibility for the non-observance of contract terms, the improvement of consumption standardization and norm-setting, etc. The financial-banking system of production credits has been bettered, measures have been taken to enhance working people's responsibility and incentives in turning out a top quality production, in raising the efficiency of the entire economic activity.

ISRAELI 'HIJACKING' OF LIBYAN PLANE CONDEMNED

LD051739 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 5 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Feb (TANJUG) -- In connection with Israel's hijacking [as received] of a Libyan plane on 4 February, Vojislav Savin, temporary official press spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, stated:

"We must strongly condemn the insolent terrorist act by Israel of hijacking a Libyan civilian plane as a flagrant and impermissible violation of the norms of international law, which leads to even greater exacerbation of the situation in the region of the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

"Israel's statement that it will continue with such actions affirms the continuity of its aggressive policy and the familiar practice of state terrorism to which Israel continues to resort, despite the fiercest opposition and condemnation of the broad international community.

"Yugoslavia energetically opposes and condemns all forms of terrorism, regardless of aims and perpetrators. This terrorist action by Israel serves to further strengthen our conviction that urgent and decisive measures by the international community are essential in order to guard against all forms of terrorism and to eliminate it as a phenomenon that presents a serious threat to peace, security, and international relations in general.

"We express our profound concern that the use of pressure and demonstrations of military strength and threats continue against a sovereign, nonaligned country, as it further complicates the security situation in the Mediterranean."

BOJANIC SPEAKS ON FOREIGN TRADE, USSR OIL PRICES

LD062202 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, February 6 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav exports of goods and services this year are to reach 15.2 billion dollars, or 5 per cent more than last year. At the same time imports are to increase by 8 per cent to 14.1 billion dollars -- Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade Milenko Bojanic said at a press conference here today.

Surplus in the current balance of payments is set at 880 million dollars, of which 820 millions is expected to be with the convertible currency area, said Bojanic. Last year's current balance-of-payments surplus was 774 million dollars, of which 344 millions with the convertible currency countries.

Yugoslavia is expected to reschedule its foreign credit obligations falling due in 1986 to the amount of one billion 550 million dollars. Its capital payments will total 2.2, and interest payments 1.9 billion dollars. Yugoslavia wants to reschedule its foreign debt obligations on a medium term basis, so as to ensure a breathing-space and facilitate its economic stabilization, said Bojanic.

A price reduction for Soviet oil in accordance with the fall in the world market prices of crude will be negotiated with the Soviet Union, he said. Yugoslavia now buys Soviet oil at a price of 27 dollars per barrel. Its trade with the Soviet Union is based on the world price principle.

The fall in oil prices ought not to reflect unfavourably on Yugoslavia's trade with the Soviet Union, its most important trading partner, said Bojanic. If necessary, commodities other than oil would be contracted, instead of cutting back purchases in that country.

Difficult and complex negotiations with the European Economic Community on a renewal of provisions of the trade agreement and financial protocol for the 1986-1990 period, are due next week, stated Bojanic. The solutions proposed by the EEC are restrictive, especially those concerning trade in industrial and agricultural commodities. The EEC accounts for about 30 per cent of Yugoslavia's foreign trade, and for about 65 per cent of its foreign trade deficit.

FOREIGN DEBT PAYMENTS TO SWEDEN RESCHEDULED

LD061356 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1208 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 6 (TANJUG) -- In Belgrade today, Yugoslav and Swedish Government representatives signed an agreement postponing the repayment of Yugoslav debt principal due between 1 January 1985 and 15 May 1986. The agreement also granted Yugoslavia a 95-million-kroner reprogramming credit.

LCY PRESIDIUM MEETS, SETS NEXT CC SESSION AGENDA

LD062113 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1702 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG) -- A session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Vidoje Zarkovic, has examined a draft report on the activity of the LCY and the LCY Central Committee between the 12th and 13th LCY Congresses. The draft report, together with comments and suggestions, will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee for discussion at the 25th session, convened for 14 February this year.

The Presidium decided to convene the 26th session of the LCY Central Committee for 21 and 22 February 1986. At this session the LCY Central Committee will examine the following preliminary draft resolutions for the 13th LCY Congress:

LC tasks aimed at the development of socialist self-managing democracy; LC tasks concerning economic and scientific-technological development; the ideo-political, organization, action and cadre training and activity of the League of Communists; and the LCY tasks concerning the struggle for peace, international cooperation on an equal footing, progress, and socialism in the world.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE CONCUL DEBATES ECONOMIC LAWS

LD062322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1816 GMT 6 Feb 86

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG) -- The Federal Executive Council, at today's session chaired by Milka Planinc, established proposals for several measures for the financial consolidation of the economy and banks and discussed other questions of the current economic policy and relations between our country and foreign countries. The measures proposed for the financial consolidation of the economy and banks aim to decrease the degree of the economy's indebtedness, strengthen the accumulative and reproducing capability, -- that is, improve the material position and liquidity of the economy, -- and create conditions for strengthening financial discipline and a consistent implementation of new system solutions.

In the context of the measures for the financial consolidation of the economy and banks, the Federal Executive Council also established a draft law that would enable that a part of a short-term credit which organizations of associated labor from production use from the primary issue is converted to long-term credits for lasting working assets. This conversion of short-term into long-term credits will be carried out all at once during this year, on a selective basis and following certain criteria. Other conditions and ways of implementing this measure are also established in the draft law.

A draft law which would transfer a part of claims, on the basis of uncovered differences in rates of exchange, onto the federation, with no obligation to return it, was also established. With this measure a part of uncovered differences in rates of exchange, created since 31 December 1985, in foreign credits used by the National Bank of Yugoslavia, and in the foreign exchange deposited by citizens and organizations of associated labor with the National Bank of Yugoslavia in 1986 and in later years, will be provided from lasting resources of incomes established by a special law.

The Federal Executive Council also established a draft law on converting long-term credits for additional loans toward exports of equipment, ships, and carrying investment projects abroad. The adoption of this law would ensure several long-term funds for exports of major goods which would improve the ability of our exporters to compete in the foreign capital market.

The Federal Executive Council also established an outline of the draft law which would envisage an obiligation on the part of organizations of associated labor to give up to others main and working assets, which are not used, or are not used sufficiently, with no compensation, in order to create additional possibilities for new employment. Only if this possibility cannot be used, it is envisaged to hold an auction, while striking these assets off the books could also be considered. This is also the sort of measure that would be carried out all at once this year and within the framework of measures for strengthening the financial consolidation of the economy.

Several proposals and suggestions were submitted to appropriate federal organs for preparing changes and amendments to the law on the social accountancy service, which would regulate the order of paying organizations of associated labor.

Proposed changes and amendments to the law on ensuring payment between users of social assets would introduce greater control over issuing and use of bills of exchange as methods of payment. The objective of the proposed changes is to prevent, in this way as well, the creation of material and financial obligations outside available assets, as well as the creation of new demands which would have an effect on the growth of inflation.

The Federal Executive Council also established a draft law which would introduce certain changes with respect to associating in the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, as well as with respect to the internal organization and structure of the chamber's organs. The objective of the proposed changes is to make the chamber's mechanism more effective in implementing its numerous tasks, and particularly to turn more toward stimulating the pooling of labor and resources, as well as joint programs of production and exports.

PRESIDENCY PASSES DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR ARMY

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[Text] Belgrade, 5 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its session today, presided over by Vice President Sinan Hasani, the SFRY Presidency passed a decision about determining the 1986-90 development plan for the Yugoslav People's Army.

The plan has been brought into line with the policy for the sociopolitical development as established by Yugoslavia's social plan for the next 5-year period, particularly with the policy and goals of developing all-people's defense, the long-term development of the SFRY's Armed Forces, and the program of economic stabilization in the Yugoslav People's Army. The necessary adjustments in the organizational, cadre, and technical development to the plans for the development of territorial defense in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces for the 1986-90 period, and to the plans drawn up by organizations of associated labor engaged in developing and manufacturing weapons and military equipment have been made.

In the course of the session, the Presidency also discussed and adopted the guidelines for its work in 1986. It also examined other issues under its constitutional purview.

LCY CC ISSUES CONCLUSIONS ON CRITICAL ANALYSIS

AU020601 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 86 p 4

["Conclusions of the 24th LCY Central Committee Session" held on 14 and 15 January: "Society's Openness to Continuous Changes -- It Is Necessary To Further Improve the System of Socialist Self-Management Through Strengthening the Role of Associated Labor, Through Self-Managing Integration, and Through Consistent Implementation of Equality in Our Multinational Community"]

[Text] In its latest, 24th session, the LCY Central Committee reviewed the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management, and adopted the following conclusions:

1. Starting from the positions of the 11th and 12th LCY Congresses and from the knowledge that a further development of the political system is of key importance for strengthening the stability of our society and its successful socialist advancement, and from the demands of socialist practice for society's significantly greater efficiency, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee directed the Federal Social Council for Questions Relating to the Social Order to undertake critical analysis of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management as a whole, as well as of some of its constituent parts, institutions, and mechanisms.

This analysis of the functioning and further advancement of the political system was particularly necessitated by the need for a more consistent realization of the long-term economic stabilization program and the successful resolution of the problems which have brought about this economic crisis, and because the system of socialist self-management in today's situation has to prove itself through its ability to supply in a timely and efficient manner decisions on economic, social, and other problems, and through successfully overcoming the contradictions of material and overall social development.

Intensification of Social Contradictions

2. Work on the Critical Analysis was conducted in a very complex social situation which, with its many economic, social, and ideopolitical characteristics, represents a new test for our society and its leading forces. It poses problems of a form and intensity we have not encountered before. We are facing a serious slowdown and an intensification of the contradictions in the development of socialist social relations and productive forces. In many spheres of our social life, statist concepts are still strongly influencing consciousness and they way in which relations in society are being regulated.

These contradictions are also manifested through the adoption of various positions and ways of looking at society's numerous problems and even ways of looking at the political system, the basis on which it was founded, the directions of its development, its aims, and possible solutions. What contributed to this situation was the fact that neither the LC nor society's other organized forces have dealt continuously, effectively enough, or creatively with the problems in the functioning of the political system's institutions and mechanisms, with their improvement, or with providing a critical assessment of their own work.

The intensification of social contradictions, the serious economic situation, and the sluggishness and vacillation in the LC itself toward important matters of social development and the ideological situation all suit the aims of various antisocialist forces and tendencies. The work of these forces has particularly been in evidence in the last few years through aggressive attempts to impose bourgeois-liberal and statist-bureaucratic alternatives to the socialist self-managing character and direction of development in our sociopolitical system. These forces are using and abusing our real difficulties -- and our failure to spot in time and overcome the weaknesses in the functioning of the political system -- as their arguments for generally contesting the system of socialist self-management and the federal organization of our country. Our working people are making more and more intensive demands for a more decisive involvement of the socialist forces headed by the LC, and for a clear ideopolitical struggle against antisocialist and antiself-management forces and tendencies. They are demanding that all the institutions of the political system be more prepared to face the problems appearing in socioeconomic and political life, overcome spontaneity, and direct in a more organized manner all social activities toward the realization of the class aims and tenets of our society.

Approach Is Realistic, but Not a Compromise

3. The Central Committee assesses that the Critical Analysis is based on views and positions of the LCY program documents and supports the approach, assessments, and basic directions of the activities for advancing the functioning and development of the political system. It is also based on the proposals which initiate certain amendments of the constitutional provisions, appropriate changes in laws, and other normative changes. The Central Committee points out that these proposals should be examined and assessed with the greatest attention in the public discussion and, what is most important, that after the discussion they should be implemented systematically and without delay.

The work on the Critical Analysis is a significant contribution to the assessment of the situation, an elucidation of the causes for the inefficient functioning of the political system, an overcoming of many differences and disputes, and a reaching of agreement on the key problems of the functioning of the system as well as unity of views on the directions in which these problems are to be solved. The analysis uncovers essential problems in the functioning of our political system. It is realistic in its approach, but it is not a compromise, for it permits no departure from the basic fundamental values of the political system as determined by our Constitution. With its entire content, the analysis emphasizes how our society is open to continuous changes and to a continuous critical analysis of the functioning and building of the political system in a direction which reliably leads to an implementation of basic self-managing production relationships, to the power of the workers class, to mastering social production by associated workers, and to strengthening brotherhood, unity, and equality of the peoples and nationalities and of the working people and citizens.

The Central Committee supports the consistently expressed view that it is only through the strengthening of socialist self-management and a true mastery by the workers over the conditions, means, and results of their labor that problems may be solved and real prospects for social development opened.

The anti-statist orientation has been fully expressed in the Critical Analysis. It illuminates the causes of those tendencies in society which strengthen the statist relations in the expanded production system, and it determines the directions of and the proposals for changes in order that such tendencies may be defeated. The analysis stresses the necessity of a further improvement in the system to help strengthen the role of the workers in self-managing associated labor and the workers class nature of our multinational society. It stresses the need for strengthening and intensifying the process of self-managing integration of associated labor, the attainment of equality for peoples and nationalities, and the rights and responsibilities of the republics and provinces both for their own development and the development of Yugoslav society as a whole.

The LCY Central Committee assesses that the Critical Analysis contributes significantly to the further development and strengthening of the political system of socialist self-management, and that the directions of activities and the proposed changes presented in it should be further developed and creatively applied in practice, since their evaluation and supplementation is only possible in practice.

The State in Constitutional Frameworks

4. The activities of Communists should develop along the main directions indicated in the Critical Analysis. The purpose of our strivings should be above all:

-- To advance and develop the organization and the functioning of the system at all levels of associated level organizations and in all sociopolitical communities. This will ensure actual decisionmaking by workers organized for self-management, directly and through the delegate system, proceeding from their right to manage the socially owned resources and their obligation that they increase these resources and thus enrich the material and social basis of their work. We must demand an advance in decision-making through workers voicing their own opinions [licno izjasnjavanje radnika], an advancement of the work and a strengthening of the role of workers councils, delegations, and delegate decisionmaking which will contribute to the implementation of the workers' control over income and its distribution in harmony with the income really gained and with the material possibilities of associated labor; and the advancement of the social and production and functional organization of associated labor in general. Strengthening the role of the chambers of associated labor in deciding on the general conditions of economic operations and of stimulating a broader self-managing integration of associated labor on income principles in the unified Yugoslav economic area, as well as making possible the participation of broader self-managing associations of associated labor in the work and decisions by these chambers are of special importance.

-- To advance and develop self-managing agreements and accords as the basic form of harmonizing the legitimately existing self-managing interests. We must also develop and improve the forms of decisionmaking through an obligatory unanimity, by eliminating the solutions and practical shortcomings which transform such forms of decisionmaking into its contradiction and a means for blocking decisionmaking, a means of disunity and division, and thus weaken the efficiency and stability of the system;

-- To consistently implement the constitutional relationships in the federation; the position, rights, and responsibilities of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces; their equality and full responsibility for the implementation of common interests and for an efficient adoption of decisions in the federation.

-- To secure the strengthening of integrative functions and the efficiency of the system through its further democratization and through the strengthening of the rights and responsibilities of the working people and their self-managing organizations and communities, and through consistent fighting against the bureaucratization of some of the system's institutions and some holders of self-managing social posts;

-- To reduce the role of the state on all levels of social organization to the constitutionally defined areas and to make its organs perform efficiently the functions assigned to them. At the same time, it is necessary to eradicate all forms of informal decision-making and all operations of alienated centers of political power in all levels of the political organizations of associated labor and society, and to strive for all social questions to be resolved through the self-managing organs and institutions of the delegate system, and to consistently respect the constitutionality and legality in all this, the leaders have pronounced obligations and responsibilities for providing an example through their behavior, positions, initiative and actions.

Necessity for a Turnaround in LC Activities

5. The Critical Analysis specifically points out that many weaknesses in the functioning of the political system and the society as a whole stem from the fact that subjective factors, sociopolitical organizations, and especially the LC are not adequately fulfilling the constitutionally given role of directive, integrative, and cohesive force of the delegate political system as a whole. A political system cannot function by being based on some kind internal automatism or spontaneity, and be expected at the same time to secure the realization of the class interests of the basic social forces. The moving forces of all societies are subjective social forces, which through a political system achieve the historical aims of the working class. The Critical Analysis particularly points out the weaknesses of the LC in realizing the political system's functions and in securing its efficiency. It warns that the way the LC fulfills its social role is often not in accord with the statutory and constitutional directions. The LC in many respects still works as the classical party; it has not fully transformed itself from the party which exerts power in the name of the working class to the LC which works within the working class and society in a democratic class union with all social forces within the SAWP. Working from a position of power and in collusion with state organs and technocratic managing strata is one of the causes, as well as one of the consequences, of the narrowing possibilities for associated labor and working people to affirm themselves as the subjects in decisionmaking regarding surplus value and the management of general social activities. It is one of the causes and consequences for the decrease in the LC's ability to productively influence the masses, to mobilize them for social actions, and to promote and support their creative initiative.

The preparations for the 13th LCY Congress, the republican LC Congresses, and for the conferences of the LC of the provinces and the LC of the Yugoslav People's Army's organizations are the reason and an opportunity which demands that the LC decisively turn toward consistent implementation of its constitutional role.

This will successfully secure the constitutional position, rights, and responsibilities of the workers in associated labor -- through the LC's ideological initiatives and political struggle and through the conformity of the content and method of its work -- to the essence and the necessities of the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management. This is a necessary condition for other sociopolitical organizations to qualitatively change and improve their work methods and to become the mobilizers of the working people and citizens to overcome economic and other problems, and to overcome current difficulties.

6. The Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management is the result of an intensive involvement of all participants in the work of the Federal Council, many prominent scientists, professional and public workers. It reflects the knowledge accumulated through discussions in self-managing organizations and communities and through sociopolitical organizations about the problems in the functioning of some institutions and about the problems in the mechanism of the political system. The public debates conducted on the draft conclusions for the 13th LCY Central Committee session and the 21st LCY Central Committee session, which dealt with the implementation of the Yugoslav Federation constitutional concept, have also signfiicantly contributed to this work. The public debate on the Critical Analysis being initiated by the SAWPY represents the continuation of these activities and should creatively contribute toward further critical assessments of the system's functioning and toward its advancement based on the directions of our revolution.

The LC and all subjective forces in this discussion should initiate the widest actions for a further democratization of society; for free expression and efficient harmonization of self-managing interest communities; for the building and successful functioning of the social production system based on the Constitution, in which the workers will make decisions on the conditions, means, and results of labor in conformity with their rights, obligations, and responsibilities to manage social resources in a way that, in their interest and in the interest of society, the value of these resources is constantly increased and that, through the political system as a whole, the realization of workers' personal, joint, and general social interests is ensured; and for an expansion of the self-managing integration of associated labor in a unified Yugoslav economic area.

Instead of the criticism of the system which is now widespread, one should strive for a creative contribution to change the practices of its institutions' activities and for complementing the system. The public discussion should contribute to an enrichment of the proposals for a faster improvement [unapredjivanje] in the functioning of the political system of socialist self-management. The public discussion should be open for proposals, ideas, and improvements that will serve to improve the political system, make it function successfully, and strengthen the role of self-managing associated labor, equality of peoples and nationalities, and unity and togetherness of our federal community. The public discussion should spur wider and continuous studies of several questions and problems important to the further development of the political system, which in the deliberations so far have not been examined comprehensively and fundamentally.

The LC proceeds from the position that it is necessary to constantly harmonize the political system with the changes in the self-managing socioeconomic structure of society, and to ensure its positive reciprocal influence on the development of socioeconomic relations. One should boldly and critically highlight all the fields of our social practice, and all the machinery and institutions of the system, with the aim that, on the basis of strategic views determined by the Constitution and other program documents, democratic relations should be more widely developed and strengthened.

Conditions should also be created for the implementation and a stronger sway of self-managing production relationships and for a decisive role of the workers class in social production.

Amendments to the Constitution and the Associated Labor Law

At the same time, the LC will resolutely resist all the demands for changes in the political system which jeopardize the role of the workers class in social production relationships and in society, the equality of our peoples and nationalities, the constitutional design of the federation, the role of the subjective socialist forces headed by the LCY determined by the Constitution, the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection, and the policy of nonalignment as a constant guideline of our country. The Communists and LC organizations will clash in their ranks and in society at large with those forces that assess the foundations of our system from different class positions and that infiltrate public opinion with messages opposed to the LCY policy line and to the fundamental constitutional provisions on which our socialist self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities is being built and developed. They will clash with those tendencies that, under the cloak of critical thinking, turn the discussion back to its beginning and jeopardize the foundations of the system and the system as a whole.

The central point of the activities of the subjective forces, especially the League of Communists, must be a critical appraisal of their own practice. They must persistently struggle against their own bureaucratization, against the stagnation of the system and parts of it, against impotence, inefficiency, and lack of productivity of the organization of society, and against the existing relations that do not contribute to the implementation of the leading role of the workers class and the organized socialist forces. Such an orientation, a constant critical attitude, and a readiness and initiatives for changing the existing situation are profoundly in the interest of the socialist forces and the historic prospects of the socialist self-managing system. There should be no hesitation in this respect, for this is not allowed either by the complex social situation or by the need for greater unity in the LCY, strengthening the togetherness of the country, and the cohesion of society as a whole.

Through organized activities of the SAWP, the trade unions, and the LC, one should ensure that all the political system factors and basic social subjects in all the communities should begin, without waiting for the conclusion of the public discussion, to change the situation, beginning with their own work and the way they implement their role, and ranging all the way to a normative elaboration of individual proposals from the Critical Analysis and to making these proposals operational. There is no excuse for postponing the activities of the organized socialist forces, all the organs of social self-protection, and especially the workers control, juridical organs, and inspection services, in preventing violations of the law and the Constitution, usurpations of social ownership, imposition of group-property and private interests, corruption, and other negative phenomena. A change in the activities and behavior of all social subjects will efficiently eliminate all the tendencies and occurrences in practice where deviations from the Constitution, the associated labor law, and other systemic laws are perpetrated regarding ensuring the self-managing position of workers, the manner of decisionmaking, and self-managing organization.

In conformity with the basic direction of the Critical Analysis, it is necessary that every institution of the sociopolitical system in the republics and provinces, the communes, the cities, and other separate sociopolitical communities, as well as in the federation, perceives and assesses the experiences of its own work in the realization of its functions in the political system, and the experiences in earlier cooperation and relations with other parts of the political system.

This assessment will represent the basis for the normative regulation of the changes necessary to improve these institutions' internal relations, as well to improve their connections and cooperation.

It is necessary to approach the work of amending the law on associated labor and other regulations and self-managing general acts in an organized manner, and to speed up the work on passing the SFRY Assembly's resolution regarding further development and implementation of the SFRY legal system.

The SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission and the constitutional commissions of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces must begin the work of preparing suggestions regarding some amendments to the SFRY and the republican and provincial Constitutions, so that they conform to the suggestions of the Critical Analysis. The communal commissions for implementing the associated labor law should do the same. It is particularly important for social councils to continue the work of the examination of questions raised in the Critical Analysis, as well as on the suggestions arising from the public discussion which are of great importance for a further improvement in the functioning of the political system.

7. LC members must familiarize themselves with the Critical Analysis and with its assessments and suggestions and must, starting from the LC's unified ideological positions, lead unified action to realize the tasks which stem from the Critical Analysis.

Communists will try their best to make the public debate on the Critical Analysis, organized by the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, truly democratic, open [otvorena], and creative. They will try to aim it toward the tasks pointed out by the analysis. The assumption of these positions by the LC and other organized forces of our socialist social consciousness suits the democratic nature of our social relations, and it is a necessary prerequisite that these relations should be democratic and self-managing. Communists, in their public debate in the SAWPY and in their delegate organs and bodies and scientific, professional, and other discussions, should fight for more progressive solutions. These solutions would be in line with improving the functioning of the political system and would make them, through their own initiatives and suggestions, contribute toward the enrichment of the Critical Analysis.

Communists bear the greatest responsibility for the public debate's direction and content; in particular, for the activity which involves the working out and implementation of amendments to the Critical Analysis as well as of those amendments which will result from the debate. The best stimuli for this kind of activity that the Communists can provide would be if they comprehensively and critically assess their own work and if they then pass the core of these activities to the delegate system and sociopolitical organizations through concrete conclusions. The activity on the critical examination of the functioning of the political system and of organizations and organs themselves should then be related to the essential preparations for the congress. Whenever there is a problem in the functioning of the organs of self-management, or in delegations and delegate system, or in the work of sociopolitical organizations, the organizations and the LC organs have to reassess and significantly improve their work and the system of organization and activity.

The Communists' Obligations

A special obligation and responsibility of Communists, as delegates in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, social councils, and other self-managing organs and bodies, is to initiate without delay the work on the examination of the Critical Analysis normative suggestions.

In other words, we must begin work on the preparation of suggestions for amending some laws and other regulations, general self-managing acts, and some provisions of the SFRY as well as republican and provincial Constitutions.

8. Following the line of the conclusions stemming from a full presentation of the Critical Analysis' options, assessments, and suggestions, and objectively reporting on discussions regarding the functioning of the political system and the activities in the development and implementation of the Analysis' suggestions, the media should creatively contribute to the course, content, and direction of the results of the public discussion. Communists in the media must decisively oppose one-sided and tendentious reporting and any attitudes which support negative approaches to the Analysis and real problems in the functioning of the political system, as well as any simplification of this important and complex problem. This means an increase in the responsibilities of everyone in public life, including editorial offices and Communists. It means even more conscientious work and actions of the media as an integral part of the socialist front, as well as of other more important parts of the political system's socialist democracy, social consciousness, and public opinion.

9. The public discussions which followed the Critical Analysis of the Functioning of the Political System of Socialist Self-Management will be summed up at the federal conference of the SAWPY. The delegates of the LCY Central Committee and the members of the SAWPY who are also members of the LCY will have special obligations and responsibilities at this conference. The Critical Analysis, together with a summary of suggestions from the public debate, will represent the basis for further work on the development of the political system and on improving its functioning.

MAMULA SPEAKS AT FORUM ON ROLE OF MILITARY

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[Text] Zagreb, Feb 6 (TANJUG) -- The presence of the military factor in the settlement of numerous contradictions is extremely apparent today. Even though there was no large-scale military conflict in the past 40 years, we must not delude ourselves into believing that we had a "great peace", since local wars continually erupted more frequently than ever. This was stated by the Yugoslav defence secretary, Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, at a panel discussion organized in Zagreb on the occasion of the publication of Admiral Mamula's book "The Contemporary World and Our Defence".

Manifestations of military force in world relations vary from threats, pressures and various forms of special warfare to armed interventions and aggression, said Admiral Mamula. More and more often, the strategy of domination and subjugation, i.e. the policy of force, is being implemented by non-military, rather than military organs. These are not as drastic as the military ones, but they are highly effective in imposing will on whole peoples, he said.

Some 250 Yugoslav military and other experts and scientists who took part in the panel discussion agreed on the main principles on the basis of which Yugoslavia would wage a possible war. "War can only be forced on Yugoslavia, since it has never been, nor will be, an aggressor", Academician Vladimir Stipetic said. "If war is forced on Yugoslavia, then, as far as the country is concerned, it would be a defensive war in which the aggressor would be resited by military force, as well as other forms of struggle and resistance", he said.

Admiral Mamula also spoke about the role of the Yugoslav People's Army and territorial (people's) defence, which he defined by one term--the socialized military power of the working class of Yugoslavia. He stressed that the concept of Yugoslavia's defence and war doctrine is primarily based on the unity of the Yugoslav peoples, their independence and mutual confidence, on the efficacious functioning of the federation and the unity of the working class and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

MEETING DISCUSSES CROAT, SERBIAN LANGUAGE POLICY

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[Text] A working meeting of members and executive secretaries of the presidiums of the LC Central Committees of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and of the provincial committees of the LC's of Kosovo and Vojvodina was held in Zagreb today. The language policy in the Croat or Serbian linguistic areas was the main topic of the discussion.

The participants in the meeting placed particular emphasis on the fact that the stance recently adopted by the Presidium of the Croat LC Central Committee received support by and met with approval of a wide section of the Yugoslav public. It was unanimously stressed that regular cooperation should be established between relevant political, scientific, and professional bodies in order to realize as successfully as possible the principles of the language policy on the basis of the full equality of peoples, nations and nationalities, and to prevent socially and politically damaging phenomena of deviations, exclusiveness, and manipulations.

Communists in scientific, professional, and educational institutions are faced with the task of advocating through the public information media and in all spheres of public life implementation of those aspects of the language policy which safeguard the rights and freedoms of the people, nations and nationalities; of everything that strengthens brotherhood and unity, enhances the linguistic culture of people, and encourages linguistic tolerance.

Proceeding from the fact that no one of the country's regions has its own state language, and from the view that the language policy cannot be implemented through political decrees, the participants in the meeting agreed on the need for the practical questions of the language policy to be discussed publicly, in a democratic atmosphere, and through cooperation of political, scientific, and professional factors within the front of organized socialist forces.

The meeting was attended by Mika Spiljak, president of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, and Marko Lolic, executive secretary in the LCY Central Committee Presidium.